Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-89-046
Friday
10 March 1989

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CSCE Ministerial Talks Continue in Vienna

Bulgaria's Mladenov Speaks

AU0803155689 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 7 Mar 89 p 5

[Speech by Bulgarian Foreign Minister Petur Mladenov at the Vienna talks on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe and on confidence- and security-building measures on 6 March]

[Text] Vienna, 6 Mar (special BTA correspondent)—Bulgarian Foreign Minister Petur Mladenov made a speech at the afternoon session in which he stated:

Mr Chairman, esteemed colleagues: Recently in this hospitable city, we jointly marked the conclusion of an important stage in the all-European dialogue and the global peace process. The Vienna meeting of the countries participating in the CSCE gave all of us food for thought, highlighted the pressing requirements for new approaches in politics, and helped us to find true guidelines in the conditions of the new historical content of international life.

I do not think I will be mistaken if I point out that the profound and intensive changes taking place in many European countries are of increasing importance for making us aware of the present-day realities and imperatives. In Bulgaria, all-embracing restructuring is being carried out in the economic, sociopolitical, and intellectual fields. In the course of this restructuring, we are ever more clearly recognizing the community of interests of Bulgaria and the other European nations, and the interconnection between our peaceful and independent development and the fate of the common European home.

We are gathered here today to begin a new joint effort along the road to peace and unity. I refer to our attempts to achieve a balanced agreement on a substantial reduction of conventional armaments and armed forces, and to draft a new package of security and confidence-building measures. The great, noble goal of this initiative, as Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, pointed out, is to shift the crucial center of gravity in guaranteeing national security from military to political factors.

Many hopes are being placed in the new talks that are starting. I think that there is no need to prove at length and in detail why this is so. I will limit myself to noting the fact that the Old Continent is literally collapsing under the burden of the greatest concentration of conventional arms in the world, not to mention their qualitative characteristics. This is a military, economic, political, and psychological burden—in short, a burden which is a sword of Damocles.

These negotiations are a necessary and vital element of the quest for the only possible—all-European—solution of the well-known dilemmas that we have been encountering on the continent for decades on end: peace or war, civilized coexistence or confrontation, consolidation or division.

I am saying all this to emphasize that the hopes concerning the two sets of talks are more than justified. From this arise the expectations and demands relating to these talks.

What in essence is expected and demanded from the forthcoming forums by the European, and indeed the world public?

To put it clearly and concisely, it is that they should fulfill their purpose. This means that:

—the talks must have a specific content, in conformity with their given mandates; and

—that they should be constructive and productive, or, in other words, that they should lead to the achievement of practical agreements in the relevant fields.

From this viewpoint, we must clarify our own intentions, and hence the methods by which we will proceed. If we go into action with the intention of seeking to dictate terms and obtain a stronger bargaining position, we will once again start marching in place. We will once again find ourselves at our old starting points, in the impasse of the previous military confrontation.

A possible resumption of the so-called discussion about numbers will lead to the same result. This will mean allowing the traditional military-technical calculations to take preponderance over political thinking. Thus, there is a risk of repeating the most negative elements in the negotiations on central Europe. Peace cannot be secured if the participants in the dialogue expect "the worst" of one another. If we allow time and moral-political capital to be wasted in such fruitless polemics, we will probably doom to failure the cause of this all-European reconciliation, which is so precious and necessary for all of us.

We deem it especially important that the sides reach a balance between satisfactorily decreasing the military confrontation and the conceptual proximity in the area of more effectively removing the threat of war in the long term. Real conditions and possibilities exist in this sphere.

In May 1987 the Warsaw Pact member states heralded their defensive doctrine based on the principle of reasonable sufficiency. At the beginning of this year, the socialist countries made significant unilateral reductions in their armed forces, arms, and military budgets, thus unambiguously confirming their sincere intentions for peace. These deeds significantly resounded throughout Europe and the world. We expect Western countries to accept our extended hand and for their part to adopt steps aimed at dispersing mutual concerns.

Our partners do not hide the fact that they themselves are actively working on a comprehensive concept in the area of defense and disarmament. However, why can we not make joint efforts in this respect? We think that in a world in which there is a growing consensus on issues of the comprehensive character of security, and a common striving toward glasnost, predictability, and confidence, it is fully possible to work out a collective model of strategic stability in Europe that would be a convincing type of protection against all kinds of armed encroachment.

It is our opinion that this model must be logically based on the presumption that despite the natural ideological differences in Europe, nobody is the potential enemy of anybody else.

Mr Chairman,

Less than 2 months ago here in Vienna, we expressed confidence that the new talks can and must guarantee the further development of the all-European process. Today we are confirming this confidence. Naturally, the question is on what do we base it?

First, we rely on past experience and achievements. I shall mention Helsinki, the spirit of which has had a favorable influence in favorably influencing the continent for 15 years already. I shall invoke Stockholm, which made an important contribution to overcoming the lack of confidence. I shall also remind you of the INF Treaty, which will be inscribed in history as the beginning of nuclear disarmament. I shall also note Vienna, which blessed our talks and became their host.

Second, we rely on the firm foundations that were built here in the Austrian capital. An exceptionally difficult and crucial issue was resolved at the meeting of the representatives of the CSCE participating countries; namely, the subject and tasks of the new talks were fixed. Thus, even at their initial stage, the talks could focus on essential and substantial matters.

Third, we rely on the serious behavior and the necessary political will of the participants in the talks, and on their mutual readiness to march in one direction and toward a goal that has been fixed a priori. In addition, we are permitting ourselves to expect that along with the specific military and other aspects of the problems, they will also consider the purely humanitarian factor: the willingness of the European nations to live in peace and understanding.

Last but not least, we rely on the common positive tendencies in international relations, which are the result of the new political thinking. Let us hope that the new talks will also be influenced by their favorable influence and that they themselves will not miss the opportunity to make their contribution to strengthening the political climate on the continent and throughout the world.

It is true that we, as all other mortals, the people who work in the sphere of international relations, tend to be tempted by the thought of achieving quick and substantial changes for the better, especially when vitally important issues are involved. However, on the other hand, precisely because of the fact that we deal with international relations, we understand the complexity of matters, and we realize what great efforts are needed to achieve progress. We already know that the new talks will be complex and difficult. This must even further increase our common responsibility for their success.

As for the People's Republic of Bulgaria, it views the documents of the recent Vienna meeting in their entirety and unity. We attach appropriate importance to all the components of peace, security, and cooperation within the framework of the agreements reached. The necessary measures for the comprehensive and effective implementation of the obligations assumed in connection with these agreements have already been adopted in our country.

Bulgaria will actively participate in the current negotiations, with goodwill and in a constructive spirit, in perfect awareness of its own responsibility related to confidence building, to safeguarding stability and security in Europe, and especially in the region in which our country is located.

In accordance with the conceptual plan on the negotiations for the reduction of armed forces and conventional arms in Europe that was published following the Warsaw conference of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee in 1988, we intend, as early as this week, to submit an initiative on the gradual implementation of the goals of the current negotiations from today to the year 2000. Our proposals are specific and were developed on the basis of correct arguments. They are based on a realistic approach that takes into consideration the complexity of the forthcoming tasks, but which also realizes the necessity of further advancing at the same time, and which maintains confidence in the success of the negotiations. We hope that our ideas will contribute to the consolidation of common understanding, on the basis of which, together with our partners, we will build our future agreements.

We attach great importance to the negotiations of the 35 states on strengthening confidence-building measures and security in Europe. Without in the least underestimating the importance and the positive role of the Stockholm agreements, we are convinced that the task of the new negotiations by far exceeds the framework of improving and perfecting the Stockholm document.

The time has come to switch from separate measures to a comprehensive policy of confidence-building measures encompassing all military activities of the participating countries.

Information, openness, and predictability are required in dealing with all types of armed forces—ground, air, and naval—alike. As we know, they all represent a uniform organism. It is our conviction that we should consider the question of reducing the scope of their activities precisely in this context.

Mr Chairman, a new factor has recently emerged in European policy, a factor of which we are becoming increasingly aware. Along with the clash of interests and their mutual interaction, a unifying trend is developing as a common denominator in the peoples' aspirations, a trend which expresses itself in the awareness of common cultural values and a common historic fate.

The ordinary people, without understanding the complicated details of the negotiations and of the debates conducted among experts, are very clearly aware of the main issue: that Europe should free itself of the burden of super-rearmament and military confrontation, and that it should overcome the "image of the enemy." People would like to be rid of the feeling that danger is threatening them, and that they ought to be afraid of someone's evil intentions. They would like to have confidence in their own and in their children's security, and in a peaceful future.

Such a future is possible only if Europe resolutely overcomes the present policy of balance of forces and direct its efforts toward a policy based on a balance of interests.

The Vienna meeting of the CSCE participating countries has taken an important step forward in this direction and has built a bridge for Helsinki in 1992. In advancing along the path towards this new meeting, we ourselves desire that even more of our present hopes will be fulfilled.

Thank you for your attention.

Mladenov Meets Waldheim

AU0803191189 Sofia BTA in English
1830 GMT 8 Mar 89

[Text] Vienna, March 8 (BTA special correspondent)—Mr Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs of Bulgaria, was received today by Dr Kurt Waldheim, president of Austria. On behalf of the Bulgarian state leadership, Mr Petur Mladenov expressed gratitude to peaceful and neutral Austria for her great contribution to the positive development of the Helsinki process, to peace and security on the continent.

Dr Kurt Waldheim and Mr Petur Mladenov noted with satisfaction the enhancement of the mutually advantageous cooperation between the two countries. An emphasis was laid on the role of the existing sound traditions in this respect and on the need to diversify further the friendly Bulgaro-Austrian relations in all spheres.

Mladenov Meets Stoltenberg

AU0803194989 Sofia BTA in English
1839 GMT 8 Mar 89

[Text] Vienna, March 8 (BTA special correspondent)—Mr. Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs, had a meeting with his Norwegian counterpart, Mr. Thorvald Stoltenberg. The two ministers expressed their hope that the opening of the negotiations on the reduction of conventional forces and on the confidence and security building measures in Europe sets a new important beginning of the all-European process and gets the process of detente to an even more advanced stage. A review of Bulgaro-Norwegian relations was made and views on matters of mutual interest were exchanged.

Before his departure, Mr. Petur Mladenov had a discussion with Mr. Giulio Andreotti, minister of foreign affairs of Italy. The two ministers underlined the desire of the two countries to contribute to putting an end to confrontation and tension in the continent by constructively participating in the Vienna negotiations.

Some concrete questions of Bulgaro-Italian relations were also discussed and it was pointed out that common efforts are needed in order to strengthen the atmosphere of confidence and goodwill, which is the most important prerequisite for their upgrade development.

Loncar Confers With Vranitzky

LD0803151889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1357 GMT 8 Mar 89

[Text] Vienna, 8 Mar (TANJUG)—Franz Vranitzky, Austrian federal chancellor, has received Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, who is in Vienna for the CSCE ministerial meeting. In the course of a lengthy, open, and friendly conversation, Vranitzky showed great interest in the situation in Yugoslavia and expressed the Austrian Government's interest in seeing its neighbor overcome the current difficulties.

It was said that relations between the two countries are stable and very good. Reference was also made to joint ventures, to the construction of the Sentilj-Maribor-Zagreb motorway, in particular, and to other programs for developing higher forms of cooperation.

During his meeting with Alois Mock, Austrian vice chancellor and foreign minister, Loncar discussed bilateral relations and the role of the nonaligned and neutral countries in the international processes of confidence-building and disarmament.

Budimir Loncar also had a meeting with Heinz Fischer, leader of the Socialist Party group in the federal parliament, who emphasized that the Austrian parliament is interested in seeing Yugoslavia pull out of its difficulties and in advancing relations between Austria and Yugoslavia.

BCP Bans Anonymous Complaints From Citizens

AU0803154189 Sofia BTA in English
1501 GMT 8 Mar 89

[Text] Sofia, March 8 (BTA)—The Politburo of the Central Committee [CC] of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] believes that in the conditions of expanding social democracy and of wide-ranging openness on matters of social development, a new style of work and life is needed, based on the strict observance of the socialist principles, morals and legality. Intransigent struggle should be led against the negative phenomena and the aberrations in personal and public conduct. One of these negative phenomena, which is an attribute of a command and bureaucratic method of leadership, are the anonymous complaints, which more often than not contain slander and injure gravely the self-confidence, the honour and the dignity of the people. They disrupt the functioning of entire workforces and of their managers.

In order to deter slanderers, to upgrade further the personal responsibility of the Communists and of all citizens, in order to safeguard the people's honour, dignity and creativity, the Politburo believes that the party, the state, the economic and the public bodies and organisations should leave anonymous complaints unconsidered.

The party organizations at the judicial authorities should exercise effective control on the Communists' strict compliance with the Law on Suggestions, Warnings, Complaints and Requests, under which no court action is taken on the basis of anonymous complaints.

Further Comment

AU1003114889 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 9 Mar 89 p 1

["Decision of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo: Anonymous Warnings Have No Consequences"]

[Text] The party's July Concept on the Further Construction of Socialism in the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the subsequent decisions on putting the concept into practice are inseparably bound up with expanding the democratization of society and with broad glasnost on matters of social development. In order to implement these trends for renewing our society, a new style of work and living is needed, based on strict observance of socialist principles, morality, and legality. The new style of work and living demands active practical actions to implement the party decisions, and an implacable struggle against negative phenomena and distortions in individual and public conduct. One of these negative phenomena—an attribute of the command-bureaucratic style of leadership—is represented by the anonymous tips or warnings, which most often contain slanders and gravely injure the self-confidence, honor, and dignity of the people. They disrupt the work of entire labor collectives and their leaderships.

At the present stage of the comprehensive restructuring of socialist society in Bulgaria, in which increasing guarantees are being provided against oppression and hounding from criticism, the anonymous warnings stem from impure motives and moral instability.

In order to deter slander, to further increase the sense of personal responsibility of the Communists and all citizens, and to defend people's honor, dignity, and creative daring, the Politburo regards the writing of anonymous warning letters as a phenomenon alien to our contemporary reality, and believes that the party, state, economic, and social organs and organizations should take no action on such letters.

The party organizations in the judicial organs should implement effective control over the work of the Communists regarding strict compliance with Article 17, Paragraph 4 of the Law on Proposals, Warnings, Complaints, and Appeals, under which no proceedings are taken with regard to anonymous warnings or tips.

Ministry Official Comments on Threat to Rushdie

AU0203201189 Sofia BTA in English
1916 GMT 2 Mar 89

[Text] Sofia, March 2 (BTA)—In connection with the crisis arising from the publishing of the novel "Satanic Verses" written by the British author Salman Rushdie, a representative of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs told a BTA correspondent: "Bulgaria is gravely concerned over the death threat to the British writer Rushdie is inconsistent with the arising international situation conducive to the promotion of the dialogue and the strengthening of confidence and cooperation between peoples. [sentence as received]

"We call upon the parties concerned to adopt a sensible approach and try to find a mutually acceptable solution."

Diplomatic Effects of Rushdie Affair Viewed

AU0703125489 Sofia NARODNA MLADEZH in Bulgarian 6 Mar 89 p 4

[Veselin Dremdzhiev article: "Verses and Diplomatic Reverses"]

[Text] The news on Sunday showed the state of the "war of positions" surrounding the "Rushdie affair." At the end of last week we obtained a clear picture of the positions adopted on the problem. In Muslim countries, the contents of the "Satanic Verses" are flatly viewed as blasphemy and a deep offense to all Muslims. Even Margaret Thatcher agreed with this. However, the categorical viewpoint is also held throughout the world, even in certain Muslim countries, that nothing can justify the pronouncement of a death sentence because of religious or political convictions.... The issue is a fundamental one, and one hardly needs to prove that at the end of the 20th century no compromise is possible on this question....

However, what gives much greater significance to the "Rushdie affair" is its diplomatic continuation. I am tempted to put forward the hypothesis that, in fact, the present calm conceals an intense exchange of views through indirect diplomatic and other channels with the aim of preventing the break in relations between Great Britain and Iran, which may also be followed by similar actions by the other EEC countries. Such a development of events would lead to very unpleasant consequences, and not only for the states directly affected. Great Britain and the EEC have an interest in preventing an interruption of the difficult process of the normalization of their relations with Tehran, because this would affect not only bilateral economic relations, but also the hopes for an early release of the remaining Western hostages in the Middle East. For its part, Iran also needs strong financial and technological links with the Western countries in order to restore its economy after the end of the ruinous war with Iraq.

The most worrying feature is that the diplomatic development of the "Rushdie affair" may have a negative effect upon the hopes for progress in resolving the tangle of problems in the Middle East. However, both Shevardnadze's visit to Iran and the retention of the Japanese diplomatic mission in Tehran provide grounds for believing that all possible means are being used at the moment to demonstrate that life in an interconnected, civilized, tolerant, and secure world is not merely wishful thinking.

Mitkov Interviewed on New Role for Army

AU0703192189 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 6 Mar 89 pp 1,2

[Interview with Colonel General Mitko Mitkov, chief of Main Political Administration of the Bulgarian People's Army, by Colonel Rangel Zlatkov: "The Bulgarian People's Army and the Demands of the New Times"; uppercase passages as published; date, place not given]

[Text] [Zlatkov] Comrade Colonel General, in the last few years, as a result of the peace offensive by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, favorable conditions have been created for an improvement in the international climate, for greater security, and for an intensification of mutually beneficial cooperation in international relations. How do you assess the Army's role in the new situation?

[Mitkov] Today, even in the West, no one disputes the truth that the positive changes in international life are the fruit of the new political thinking, the initiators and agents of which are the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Pact states. This is proved by the fact that the latest initiatives of the socialist countries, specifically the Declaration of the Warsaw Pact Defense Ministers Committee "On the Correlation of Warsaw Pact and North Atlantic Alliance Force Strengths and Armaments in Europe and Adjoining Waters" and their unilateral steps to reduce their Armed Forces and military budgets were highly praised by the widest cross section of the world public.

The talks on conventional arms reduction and new confidence and security measures that are starting in Vienna undoubtedly provide hopes for a further reduction in the level of military confrontation on the old continent.

The states of the socialist community are guided by the understanding that the new historical content of our times demands that we give political factors priority over military ones in international affairs. HOWEVER, THIS DOES NOT MEAN NEGLECTING THE ROLE OF THE ARMY AND DEPERSONALIZING ITS FUNCTIONS. The reasonable compromises that we are making are dictated by the love of peace and humanism of socialism as a social order, and by a precise, objective analysis of the new world realities. They also reflect our sincere aspirations in the struggle to free mankind from the burden of armaments and wars.

We have no doubt that military-strategic parity will continue to be a crucial factor in preventing war in the future. In the final analysis, this means that THE POLITICAL APPROACHES WILL BE GUARANTEED BY MEASURES OF A DEFENSIVE NATURE AND BY CONSTANT READINESS TO DEFEND SOCIALIST ACHIEVEMENTS. A concise expression of the viewpoint of the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Pact states was embodied in the warning given by Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev in his speech at the 43d session of the UN General Assembly: "We will maintain a defense capability at the level of reasonable and reliable sufficiency in order to prevent anyone from being tempted to encroach upon the security of the Soviet Union and its allies."

[Zlatkov] Within the kaleidoscope of different assessments, one finds some that make a biased interpretation of the new processes in international relations, and extreme viewpoints are even voiced about the present and future of the Army....

[Mitkov] SUCH VIEWPOINTS CAN ONLY BE CHARACTERIZED AS A MANIFESTATION OF POLITICAL IMMATURITY, A FAILURE TO GRASP THE ACTUAL FACTS OF INTERNATIONAL LIFE, AND, IN SOME CASES, EVEN DEMOGOGY. Can anything shed doubt on the reality of the military threat from imperialism? We value the West's contribution to the processes for normalizing the international situation that have begun, but, despite this, we cannot neglect the fact that the United States and NATO do not want to give up the arms race or stop conducting politics from a "position of strength." They have not abandoned the latter, nor, as everything shows, have they any intention of giving up a single one of their military programs. What is more, intense work is in progress on updating,

first and foremost, their offensive nuclear and conventional armaments, and "compensation programs" are being developed, as well as new so-called competitive strategies, intended for the 21st century. Also, the military budgets are still at quite a high level.

This is why the prospects in the development of the international situation and the West's military policy give us grounds for reaching the conclusion that THE ARMY WILL PRESERVE ITS IMAGE AND PURPOSE EVEN UNDER THE CONDITIONS OF DISARMAMENT, PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE, AND COOPERATION BETWEEN STATES WITH DIFFERENT SOCIAL SYSTEMS. However, the development of the Army will be based on the principle of reasonable and reliable sufficiency, which occupies a leading place in the military doctrine of the Warsaw Pact states. In other words, OUR EFFORTS IN THE DEFENSE FIELD WILL BE IN ACCORDANCE WITH AND DIRECTLY RELATED TO THE LEVEL OF THE THREAT FACING US.

[Zlatkov] Comrade Colonel General, it is no secret that the restructuring in the Bulgarian People's Army has led to positive changes in the state of combat readiness, the training process, everyday army life, and political and educational work. What are the main features that characterize the restructuring in the Bulgarian People's Army at the present stage, in light of the new elements in the international situation and the decisions of the December 1988 Plenum of the BCP Central Committee?

[Mitkov] The December 1988 Plenum of the BCP Central Committee was a remarkable event in the life of the party and country. Its importance is determined by the fact that it not only made a comprehensive assessment of the progress of restructuring so far, but also pointed out effective tactics and the main approaches for further putting into practice the July Concept in restructuring our society.

In accordance with the plenum's decisions, the Bulgarian People's Army is also developing an offensive over the entire front in order to put the aims and tasks of restructuring into practice and to achieve real, positive changes in all spheres of army life. THE MAIN THING AT THE PRESENT STAGE OF RESTRUCTURING IS TO DIRECT THE SUBJECTIVE FACTOR TOWARD QUALITATIVE PARAMETERS IN MILITARY CONSTRUCTION. This is determined both by the exhaustion of the possibilities of quantitative approaches in developing the Army and by the requirements of our defensive doctrine.

I would like to stress that giving priority to qualitative parameters is also a prominent feature of restructuring in the Soviet Army and the other fraternal armies.

Therefore, our main efforts are now being directed toward comprehensively mobilizing the human factor, further improving organizational-staff structure, more widely introducing the achievements of scientific and technical progress, intensifying the teaching process and troop training, as well as strengthening discipline and the one-man-command principle, combined with the further expansion of democracy, and so forth.

[Zlatkov] You mentioned democracy and glasnost in army conditions. It is well known that these are two of the chief levers of restructuring. However, practical experience in Bulgaria, and not only in our country, shows that they are sometimes used as a shield to conceal narrow egotistical, selfish interests. How do you assess the role and place of democratization and glasnost in army conditions?

[Mitkov] Yes, the road of restructuring is not a smooth one, and this conclusion does not only apply to our country. Restructuring stirs the energy of millions, but also creates conditions for activating certain individuals who, under the banner of democracy and glasnost, strive to pursue essentially antisocial goals. PUBLIC OPINION IN THE ARMY, AS WELL AS ALL OF OUR PEOPLE, CATEGORICALLY REJECT THESE PEOPLE'S ATTEMPTS TO CREATE POLITICAL STRUCTURES IN OPPOSITION TO THE PARTY AND STATE ORGANS, AND TO MANIPULATE PUBLIC OPINION—TO THE TUNE OF WESTERN PROPAGANDA—BY MEANS OF PROCLAMATIONS, INTERVIEWS, ULTIMATUMS, AND OTHER SIMILAR ACTIONS.

As far as democratization and glasnost in the Army are concerned, these are two of the main mechanisms for involving the human factor in the reforms and for continuously developing the creative potential of the individual soldier.

We regard the ability to make use of the democratic institutions that have been and are now being set up in the Army (military councils, honor courts, commissions for state and people's control, women's councils, and so on) as a measure of the political maturity of the commanders, political organs, and party and Komsomol organizations.

THE SPECIAL FEATURES OF THE ARMY AND PREVIOUS EXPERIENCE DEMONSTRATE THAT THE CREATIVE POSSIBILITIES OF DEMOCRATIZATION AND GLASNOST SHOULD BE REALIZED ONLY IN HARMONY WITH THE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES UPON WHICH THE ARMY IS BUILT, AND ESPECIALLY IN THE CLOSEST COMBINATION WITH THE PRINCIPLE OF ONE-MAN COMMAND AND THE DEMANDS RELATING TO MILITARY DISCIPLINE. These principles, as an expression of the collective mind and of public opinion, must promote the creation of strict discipline to the maximum—based on the statutes—in the units and subunits, in order to strengthen the soldiers' collectives, and thereby maintain a continuous high level of combat readiness.

[Zlatkov] Finally, Comrade Colonel General, I would like to ask you to outline the main accents in the party-political work in the Bulgarian People's Army at the present stage.

[Mitkov] Party-political work in the Bulgarian People's Army has always marched in step with the latest tasks set by the party in the field of military policy. The role of this work is undoubtedly increasing now, at the stage of a broad offensive over the entire front of restructuring. THE MAIN TASK OF THE COMMANDERS, POLITICAL ORGANS, THE PARTY, KOMSOMOL, AND TRADE UNION ORGANIZATIONS IS TO DIRECT THEIR EFFORTS TOWARD FURTHER PUTTING THE PARTY'S JULY CONCEPT ON ARMY CONDITIONS INTO PRACTICE, IN ORDER TO GIVE YET GREATER SCOPE AND DEPTH TO THE RENEWAL PROCESSES IN THE BULGARIAN PEOPLE'S ARMY.

Naturally, man the soldier, with his problems and interests, stands at the center of our attention. This is fully understandable, because in the final analysis, he is the chief actor in the process of restructuring.

AN ISSUE OF ESPECIAL IMPORTANCE AT THE PRESENT STAGE IS THE TASK OF SHAPING A NEW STYLE OF THINKING AND WORK AMONG THE MILITARY CADRES, IN SYNTHESIS WITH THE STYLE OF ARMY LIFE AND THE REQUIREMENTS OF THE MILITARY STATUTES AND LAWS. Therefore, we are striving to ensure that political and educational work make a most active contribution in combining the development of a defense-oriented awareness among the soldiers with specific practical work to achieve high quality everywhere and in everything, and in combining democracy and glasnost with discipline and the principle of one-man command, and creative independence with personal responsibility. The role of party-political work in the cultural and moral development of the individual soldier is increasing in many ways. In this context, I would like to stress the exceptional importance for us of the ideas and postulates contained in the report and introductory and closing speeches of Comrade Todor Zhivkov at the recent meeting of the Politburo of the BCP Central Committee with representatives of the intelligentsia.

Under the new conditions, the role of the party organs and organizations also sharply increases in importance; they must become sources for initiatives, for influencing morale, and for mobilizing the Communists and all personnel in the struggle to achieve high qualitative results in combat readiness, the training process, and the other fields of practical army life. This requires us to continuously strengthen their organizational and political state, increase the Communists' vanguard role, and further develop internal democracy in accordance with the contemporary criteria.

In conclusion, I would like to state that our people may be sure that, IN COMBINED FORMATION WITH THE FRATERNAL ARMIES OF THE WARSAW PACT STATES, THE BULGARIAN PEOPLE'S ARMY IS ABLE AND WILL ALWAYS BE READY TO DEFEND THEIR ACHIEVEMENTS AND MEET IN A WORTHY MANNER THE CHALLENGE OF THE TIMES OF RADICAL CHANGE IN WHICH WE ARE LIVING.

[Zlatkov] Thank you, Comrade Colonel General.

Army Disarmament Expert Assesses Vienna Talks

AU0903123989 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 7 Mar 89 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Major General Kamen Petrov, "chief of the Group on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in the General Staff of the Bulgarian People's Army," by Major Vladi Vladkov: "From Overarmament to Reasonable Sufficiency";]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] [Vladkov] What, in your view, may be the outcome of the negotiations starting in Vienna?

[Petrov] It is quite clear that the talks will cover armed forces and armaments that are immense in their scale and variety, as well as varied in their roles, combat capabilities, quality characteristics, and so on. It will be necessary to work out mutually acceptable objective criteria and indicators by which to compare the various organizational structures, armaments, and combat equipment. This makes me think that the negotiations will be intense and far from easy. However, given goodwill, an absence of bias, a constructive approach, and mutual respect between the partners taking part in the talks, they can be given a dynamic stimulus with the aim of speedily achieving practical results. [passage omitted]

However, at the same time we must be realists and clearly recognize that the talks will not be easy. Even given the presence of goodwill, it will be objectively difficult to reach agreements because of the complex nature of the problems under examination. In addition, we are not convinced that our Western partners will always proceed from the standpoints of the new political thinking. Grounds for these thoughts are provided by the aggressive orientation of NATO's military-technical efforts, as well as the striving of the NATO leadership to modernize their armaments.

As the talks proceed, it is expected that a trend will be established for the Western countries to seek to derive unilateral benefits, and for them to display a selective approach toward the problems of disarmament and toward the security-building measures. It is no accident that the declaration of the NATO Council issued during the bloc's December session [in 1988] stated that, in

eliminating the imbalances and asymmetries, priority should be given to tanks and artillery, in which the Warsaw Pact has superiority.

It is well known that the final document of the Vienna meeting was adopted by consensus (by universal agreement). However, with regard to many of the unanimously adopted formulations, a difference is apparent in the interpretation of their content. For example, the negotiations on confidence measures will be conducted "with the aim of drafting and adopting a new generation of mutually complementary measures... aimed at reducing the risk of military confrontation in Europe." In this text, the socialist countries see a necessity to extend the confidence measures to the independent activity of navies and air forces, to seek ways to extend the measures to the territories of the United States and Canada as well, and to create zones of enhanced confidence with a reduced concentration of troops in the vicinity of the line of contact between the two military alliances. However, the Western countries do not want to include these problems in the agenda of the talks, and are directing their efforts toward reducing the level for notification of military activities.

[Vladkov] Comrade Major General, what will be our country's role and position at the Vienna talks?

[Petrov] As a strong link in the Warsaw Pact, the People's Republic of Bulgaria will approach the forthcoming negotiations from positions of principle, guided by the common interests of the socialist countries. Our country will utilize the possibilities provided by the talks to further improve relations with the European countries, especially with the Balkan states. Bulgaria will strive to implement its numerous peace initiatives in the field of disarmament and strengthening of confidence in our region.

The special geographical position of Bulgaria, which shares borders with two states of the North Atlantic Alliance, requires a high level of activity and flexibility on the part of our delegation during the talks. For example, a tendency is appearing in NATO that the elimination of the imbalances and asymmetries should start with the central Europe region. This would affect Bulgaria's national interests, since NATO's great superiority in southeast Europe is a well-known fact. If this situation is permitted, this will violate the principle of the identical security of all participants in the talks at all stages of the negotiations.

It is well known that, according to the mandate, part of southeast Turkey is outside the scope of the talks. Our country must keep a specially close watch to ensure that the future agreements on reducing armed forces do not permit a possibility of an increase in Turkey's Armed Forces in this region or an increased foreign presence there.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria totally supports the idea of convening an all-European conference at the level of leaders of state—"an all-European Reykjavik," which would provide a powerful impetus to the negotiations.

Citizens' Complaints About Militia Addressed

AU0303180489 Sofia ANTENI in Bulgarian No 9, 1 Mar 89 pp 4, 5

[Yasen Georgiev article: "Caught and Rendered Harmless"]

[Excerpts] According to unofficial sources, we have an opportunity to further clarify the refuted rumor about an alleged "terrorist" attack on a number 21 streetcar in Sofia. We should immediately explain that the main participants in the following incident are still not aware that their own actions gave rise to the wild ideas of numerous Sofia citizens.

Some time ago, members of the criminal investigation department from the Sofia City Administration of the Ministry of Internal Affairs were in a state of "alert." They were investigating a dangerous criminal. Observers in a patrolling motor vehicle saw him board a streetcar. Without wasting any time, the militia officers pursued the streetcar, after which two of them boarded and arrested the gangster, according to the rules governing militia operations. Despite the "happy end," this routine action resulted in some unpleasant experiences for the criminal investigators. Some of the passengers, without understanding what was going on and without being disturbed by the fact that they were interfering with the work of the legal organs, noisily defended the "innocent" offender, while the criminal himself—a big, strong man, encouraged by the support—engaged in a fight with the representatives of the authorities. [passage omitted]

The problem is by no means unimportant. The defiance and even lack of respect which we are often inclined to show toward the work of militia organs frequently prevent them from acting, and encourage the criminals. [passage omitted]

Are militia functionaries really unnecessarily rude in exercising their functions? I cannot provide a definite answer to this question. There are stories about the representatives of law and order abusing their rights, and certainly some of these stories are true. However, there are also stories about cases in which sergeants and officers in blue uniforms try to avoid critical situations. The reasons for this are quite ordinary—the hostile attitude of the public toward the coercive measures which the Ministry of Internal Affairs organs are sometimes forced to apply. The public, however, (let alone the criminals caught in this manner) is not joking. Hundreds of complaints are received annually by the Ministry of Internal Affairs, protesting against the actions of militia functionaries. Each of these complaints is thoroughly investigated. It is not easy to comment on the statistical data related to such cases. It turns out that some of the

tips are justified, which is bad. At the same time, the overwhelming majority of complaints are untrue or unjustified, which is not good either, because it undermines the self-confidence of the people who are in charge of protecting our peaceful life.

Yosifov Defends Refusal of BBC Interview

AU0303163689 Sofia ANTENI in Bulgarian No 9, 1 Mar 89 p 3

[Veselin Yosifov article: "Why I Did Not Speak on the BBC"]

[Excerpts] When the telephone on my desk rang, I thought it must be something important to wake me up at that hour of the day, because it was the time of my afternoon nap, and it is not socially acceptable to call someone between 2 and 5 p.m. Nevertheless, it is an office telephone, and a journalist is expected to be at his post at the editorial office at this hour.

The caller was from the BBC Bulgarian service. This is the reason why I began a conversation with the unknown man on the other end of the telephone line. The stranger was polite and asked me to share my impressions and views on the meeting between the BCP Central Committee Politburo and representatives of the Bulgarian intelligentsia, because they had already had a talk with a female representative of the Bulgarian intelligentsia on these questions, but unfortunately, this particular representative had not participated in the meeting.

"To whom will my statement for BBC be addressed?" I asked.

"To the Bulgarian listeners, of course," the voice answered.

"In that case it is useless, because I can always share my thoughts with Bulgarian readers and listeners, and it is by no means necessary that my voice go to London by telephone line, and then be transmitted to Bulgaria on the air. Would it not be better if I had the opportunity to address British readers or listeners on Bulgarian issues?"

"Yes, but there is hardly any interest in Bulgaria here," the voice answered.

"As Bulgarians working at the BBC, you should do something to arouse this interest." [passage omitted]

Since I have no tape recording of this conversation, I will continue to describe it without using direct speech or dialogue, and without any unnecessary comments, because I would like to things other than my own conversation with BBC.

I ask myself: How is it possible that the Bulgarian side has become a sort of "post restante," a sort of "reference" service for several Western radio stations?! They ask the questions and we have to answer. It has never been the other way around—we asking them questions while they provide the answers.

The telephone line has two ends. Why should only one end be used?!

Nevertheless, it is evident that certain people in our country are sitting beside the telephone waiting for calls from the other end, so that they may talk, talk, and talk....

It is their own business, of course! Let them talk! However, is it not proper for them to realize to whom they are talking? I am offended by the fact that people in London are not interested in our affairs. Bulgarian intelligentsia has one adjective—that of being Bulgarian! Precisely this adjective obliges the intelligentsia to talk about the Bulgarian people, about their material and cultural interests, about their worries and initiatives, about their role in the contemporary world.

I would not like to offend my unknown interviewer from the BBC Bulgarian service, but he told me that he has been in London for 5 years and that he is now working in the Bulgarian service, that he does not know me personally, and that we have never met, either as individuals, or as colleagues in Bulgarian journalism. I hope that he will demonstrate his journalistic fellowship by not insisting that I did not accept his request for an interview out of fear! I told him three times that I am not afraid. I do not care whether my voice is heard on Sofia radio or on the BBC Bulgarian program, because it would still be my own voice, I would express my own thoughts, and be myself, with all my shortcomings.

What irritates me, however, is that a Bulgarian intellectual should say one thing on Bulgarian radio and different things when speaking on a foreign radio station! [passage omitted]

The word is like nuclear energy. It can give light and warmth, but it is capable of destroying as well.

We are in favor of the word that gives light and warmth, in an era when the threat of an eternal nuclear winter is a reality.

This is the reason why I did not speak with the BBC!

Union of Bulgarian Journalists Congress Held

Traykov Speaks

AU0703113789 Sofia BTA in English 1001 GMT 7 Mar 89

[Text] Sofia, March 7 (BTA)—The Eighth (special) Congress of the Union of Bulgarian Journalists should answer the question what journalism should be like at the time of revolutionary renewal of socialism in Bulgaria.

Today this was underlined by Mr Boyan Traykov, president of the union and director general of the BTA, at the opening of the congress of the organization of Bulgarian journalists, the membership of which totals 4,860 people. Another 1,100 people are members of the Young Journalists Club. The Union of Bulgarian Journalists was set up in 1955.

The Congress of the Union of Bulgarian Journalists is one in the series of congresses held by the creative workers' unions in Bulgaria this month in anticipation of the congresses of culture, science and education. The congress will consider a draft for a new statute of the union according to which it should become a professional organization of all Bulgarian journalists.

We will carry out our mission by continuing the thoroughgoing, meaningful and frank discussion which started two weeks ago at the meeting with the Politburo of the CC of the BCP, it is said in the report of the president of the union.

It is pointed out in the report that new journalism is impossible without democratization and intellectualization in public life. That is why journalism should play a new role in society. Speaking about the role of journalists in the restructuring of society, Mr Boyan Traykov stressed the satisfaction of the members of the union with the decision of the Secretariat of the CC of the BCP for the improvement of the mass media in the country by setting up a permanently operating national press center, appointing spokesmen of all state bodies and public organizations and regular meetings of journalists with party and state leaders. He announced that the list of data, figures and other information which are state secret are being thouroughly reviewed in order to reduce this list to a resonable minimum. A bill on the mass media is being worked out.

"All matters of social importance should be presented and explained by the mass media, so that they could be publicly debated and assessed, approved or rejected, but by all means they should be considered in the conditions and on the basis of the principles of a democratized socialist society," Mr Boyan Traykov said.

Dwelling on the problems of openness in the conditions of the renewal of socialist society, the president of the Union of Bulgarian Journalists pointed out that by restructuring their work, the journalists should fight against dogmatism, monopoly, nihilism, the command-and-administer style, the canonized bureaucracy, the strongholds of mediocracy, inertness and all things which hinder restructuring. "Openness is not a soil which would allow petty bourgeois and antisocialist feelings to flourish," Mr Boyan Traykov said. "Openness took the entire tortuous path of socialism to achieve, it is a cherished revolutionary acquisition of socialism and as I see it it should be unlimited in respect of the ideas and the vistas of socialism."

The report calls upon the mass media to increasingly provide a platform for a public dialogue, which implies diversity, pluralism of views and debate, a dialogue of the fight between dogmatism and new thinking. The nature of the dialogue presupposes equality of rights, tolerance and mutual respect. Such position means that the Bulgarian mass media should give the platform to all who do not oppose the Constitution and the socialist ideals of the Bulgarian society, to everybody and to everything which stands for progress, creativeness and social renewal of Bulgaria. "Why not give platform to other preferences? Because the Bulgarian people made their final historical choice long ago—socialism, and we are journalists of the restructuring of socialism," Mr Boyan Traykov said.

The delegates opened the debates. Special attention is paid to the structural improvement of the mass media which is under way and the possibility to associate them in publishing houses. Professional problems are also discussed, for instance, the work of of the journalists dealing with international affairs from the point of view of new political thinking, along with questions of the restructuring of the Union of Bulgarian Journalists, its social and protective functions, education in journalism, etc. The congress ends tomorrow.

[Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 1000 GMT on 7 March carries an abbreviated version of the report on the opening of the Eighth Congress of the Union of Bulgarian Journalists, and adds: "The opening of the Congress was attended by Comrades Milko Balev, Yordan Yotov, and Stoyan Ovcharov"]

Dimitrov Elected Chairman

AU0903084789 Sofia BTA in English
0745 GMT 9 Mar 89

[Text] Sofia, March 9 (BTA)—The Union of Bulgarian Journalists ended its Eighth Special Congress at midnight last night. After a heated debate the nearly 600 delegates representing the union's six thousand members adopted a resolution assigning the governing board to endorse, by the end of this year, guidelines for the further restructuring of the organisation. The document will be worked out and discussed in the 105 journalists associations.

The one hundred members of the new governing board, elected by secret ballot, chose Mr Lalyu Dimitrov as the new president of the union's governing board. Mr Dimitrov, 60, has been in the media business for forty years. He has worked as editor-in-chief of the NARODNA MLADEZH and the OTECHESTVEN FRONT dailies and of the journalists union's own POGLED weekly. He has been president of the Television and Radio Committee. He has also worked at the Mass Media Department of the Central Committee [CC] of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] and at the former committee on the press. He is now working at the CC of the BCP.

The congress left no room for doubt about the desire for change: The journalists would like to work in a different way and they want to address their duties to society in a different way and to see society perform its duty to journalists in a different way, too. The congress adopted new rules of the union, which define it as a voluntary creative and professional organisation. The union adopted as its principal tasks the wide-ranging promotion of public openness and making the press, the radio and the television a platform of the most progressive public opinion and an instrument to teach Bulgarian society a new culture of information.

The rules say that the journalists associations are the basic self-governing units of the union, partners and opponents of the leadership. The union structure has been overhauled: The membership of the governing board has been reduced, a number of administrative levels and divisions have been abolished.

The congress supported the BCP concept about restructuring and renewal. The coverage and the media assistance to the economic reform was singled out as a foremost priority for journalists now. The significance of the matter was brought home by the somewhat unusual presence at all congress proceedings of Mr Stoyan Ovcharov, alternate member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP and minister of the economy and planning. The congress was also attended by Mr Yordan Yotov and Mr Milko Balev, Politburo members and secretaries of the CC of the BCP.

The congress resolution, as well as many delegates' statements, pointed to the need for broad public dialogue conducted by the journalists on the basis of socialist pluralism. An emphasis was laid on the role of the mass media in the perfection of the political system of society in keeping with the principles of public openness, democracy and self-government.

It was pointed out that in future the participation of the mass media in public life should not be determined by their departmental affiliation but should stem organically from the information requirements of the public. The delegates also discussed the need to simplify the structure of the editorial offices, to help the different news organisations and [as received] acquire an unmistakable and independent complexion of their own, to make a better use of their creative capabilities. To this end, publishing houses and joint-stock associate companies will be set up in future.

The congress resolution assigns the union to defend the rights and the interests of the journalistic community at the respective state and public institutions. The most urgent step in this direction is considered to be the drafting of a mass media bill.

The congress approved a democratic system of election, limited-term office-holding and rotation of the union bodies at all levels.

Leading Legal Figures Meet With Journalists

AU0603144489 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 3 Mar 89 p 6

[RABOTNICHESKO DELO report: "For the Consolidation of Socialist Legal Order"]

[Text] A meeting with the leading functionaries of the legal protection organs in our country took place at the RABOTNICHESKO DELO editorial board yesterday. Minister of Justice Svetla Daskalova; chief prosecutor Professor Vasil Mruchkov; Ivan Velinov, chairman of the country's Supreme Court; and Georgi Bakhchevanov, chairman of the Central Council of the Bar Association; attended the meeting.

A series of questions related to the consolidation of the socialist legal order, to restructuring the legal superstructure, and to the tasks of the press in this connection were discussed in an open-minded and direct dialogue between the representatives of the legal organs and the journalists.

Economic Talks With UK Reported From London

AU0303094189 Sofia BTA in English 2227 GMT 2 Mar 89

[Text] London, March 2 (BTA correspondent)—The Bulgarian-British Joint Commission for Economic, Industrial, Scientific and Technological Cooperation held its 17th session here between February 27 and March 2. The Bulgarian delegation, led by Mr Georgi Pirinski, deputy minister of foreign economic relations and co-chairman of the commission, included business executives, research center officials and manufacturer representatives.

The head of the Bulgarian delegation conferred with Mr Alan Clark, minister for trade of the U.K., and with senior officials of the London Chamber of Commerce, of the East European Trade Council, of the Confederation of British Industry, with representatives of the Foreign Office and of British companies. The working groups on trade and on techno-scientific cooperation held working meetings.

They considered the two countries' shared marketing policy, including the access to third countries' markets. The agenda included matters of commerce and politics related to the lingering import quotas imposed by Britain on Bulgarian goods and some other obstacles. The Bulgarian side raised questions concerning the relations between Bulgaria and the E.C.

The sides outlined the promising prospects for economic and industrial cooperation in the priority areas of biotechnologies, vehicle engineering, agro-industrial operations, light and chemical industry, and some electrical engineering and electronics subbranches.

River Border Problems Experienced With Turkey

AU0203205289 Sofia BTA in English
1857 GMT 2 Mar 89

[Text] Sofia, March 2 (BTA)—Under the heading "Fait-Accompli Policy Erodes Goodneighbourliness", the SOFIA NEWS weekly has carried a signed commentary on the Turkish construction along the border with Bulgaria.

The paper reports that on February 17, 1989, Turkey began construction work in the mouth of the border River Rezovska. The Turkish side motivated this action by the need to repair its structures, damaged by the rise of the high-water level in November 1988. "The Bulgarian side, however, resolutely insisted that no protective and repair works whatsoever be carried out in the mouth and in the channel of the River Rezovska, stressing these actions as a gross violation of the existing bilateral agreements and accords. For its part, guided by the same considerations, Bulgaria refrained from carrying out unilateral protection works, even though the Bulgarian bank in that area had also sustained damage by the overflow of the river," the SOFIA NEWS writes.

The commentary explains that "according to the 1934 description of the Bulgarian-Turkish border, the (Black Sea) mouth of the River Rezovska is the initial point of the border line between the two countries." Bulgaria and Turkey "have been engaged for years in unsuccessful negotiations on the demarcation of the border line in the lower reaches and the mouth of the river. The main reason for the lack of progress on the matter has been Turkey's reluctance to remove the structures it has unlawfully built in the river channel and mouth," the article says.

The feature appears complete with a map illustrating the stages of the unlawful Turkish construction on the Southern bank and in the river channel, which started back in the 1960s.

When despite the numerous Bulgarian representations Turkey resumed construction work in the mouth of the river, the Bulgarian side saw itself "forced to take counter measures to defend its sovereign interests. In response to the Turkish construction, a protection dike started to be built on the Bulgarian bank on November 23, 1979. Construction activity continued in 1980 and led up to the actual state of affairs in the river mouth."

The Turkish actions are of a markedly deliberate and aggressive nature: As a result of them the present river mouth has been artificially formed and moved hundreds of meters to the north-west, entirely into Bulgarian territory," the paper writes. "The Turkish-built structures prevent the natural and free discharge of the river into the sea, direct the intensity of the emersion processes at the Bulgarian bank and block Bulgaria's natural outlet on the firth and on the sea. The actual situation intruded by Turkey stands in the way not only of the negotiations on the exact delineation of the international border in the lower reaches of the River Rezovska but, what is still more important, of the negotiations on the delimitation of the sea areas in the Black Sea,too."

Systematically pursuing a policy of faits accomplis, Turkey is obviously seeking to negotiate with Bulgaria from a position of strength. Such an approach, unacceptable to any sovereign state, is an anachronism in present-day international relations," the newspaper emphasizes. Turkey refuses to accept "the suggested civilized methods of settling international disputes such as referring them to the International Court of Justice or to international arbitration." For its part, "Bulgaria has always been guided by the conviction that the problems concerning the River Rezovska should be settled by negotiations, the SOFIA NEWS writes.

The "repair" works carried out by Turkey this February are characterized as "yet another inadmissible encroachment upon Bulgaria's sovereignty, yet another manifestation of methods of state policy which have long been rejected by the international community and by international law."

"The Bulgarian side believes that what Turkey calls 'repair' measures are unwarranted not only because thousands more cubic meters of stone were dumped into the river channel but also because these actions flagrantly contravene the agreements and accords existing between the two countries," the SOFIA NEWS writes. The paper invokes bilateral agreements and accords of 1967, 1984 and 1988, whereby Bulgaria and Turkey undertook not to begin unilateral protective and repair works in the mouth and the channel of the Rezovska and to restore the natural discharge of the river by removing their respective structures.

The commentary points out further on that the new obstacles raised by Turkey "make it exceedingly difficult, not to say impossible, to negotiate a lasting and just settlement. The legitimate question therefore arises as to whether Turkey is in a position to build its relations with its neighbours in accordance with the universally recognized principles of international law. Confronted with this situation which has not arisen through its fault, Bulgaria may well see itself compelled to undertake all measures it would deem necessary to safeguard its national interests in the area of the mouth of the River Rezovska," the SOFIA NEWS writes in conclusion.

Scientific-Technical Federation Established

AU0203191089 Sofia BTA in English
1834 GMT 2 Mar 89

[Text] Sofia, March 2 (BTA)—Today the Bulgarian scientific workers and engineers set up the Federation of Scientific and Technical Societies. The statute defines the federation as a public, professional and creative workers' organization admitting to membership all organizations involved in scientific and technological

progress. It is expected that this will simplify the management of the organization of scientific workers and engineers to the interest of self-dependence and initiativeness. The federation has a 85-member governing board, elected for a definite period of time, the limit being two consecutive 5-year terms. Mr Lazar Lazarov, formerly vice president of the Central Council of Scientific and Technical Unions, was elected chairman of the board. The former president of the Central Council, Prof Ivan Popov, was elected a honorary member of the federation. Mr Lazar Lazarov said at the congress that the federation will seek to be a partner of and a constructive opponent to the state and economic bodies in the restructuring of economy aimed at achieving a qualitatively new growth. According to the statute, the technological innovation of industry and agriculture, automation and the increase of the efficiency of labor by making use of the scientific and technological progress, the improvement of the quality of the production and the economical energy and raw materials consumption are the main lines along which the scientific workers and engineers will work. [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 1830 GMT on 2 March 1989, reporting on the same event, adds that "the congress ended today" and that "Comrades Grisha Filipov and Petur Dyulgerov participated in the work of the congress."]

Data on 1988 Transportation Accidents Published
AU0203094689 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 1 Mar 89 p 2

[Boris Gergov report: "Transportation—Information About Safety"]

[Excerpt] For the first time in several years, journalists were in attendance at a Ministry of Transportation collegium. This practical step, which penetrated one of the recently "banned zones," is related to implementing the decision of the BCP Central Committee Secretariat on better informing the journalists. Furthermore, the collegium discussed a topic, which until recently was considered beyond public control. This was so because only a small circle of specialists were aware of the safety situation in the various transportation branches. Here are some of the facts for 1988 that were reported:

—In 1988 some 385 accidents were caused by drivers of vehicles belonging to the economic organizations of the Ministry of Transportation. There were 108 people killed and 361 injured.
—There have been 10 civil aviation accidents. Some 29 people have been killed and 8 injured.
—There have been 1,834 [figure as published] railroad accidents, in which 20 people were killed and 150 injured.
—There have been 33 water transportation accidents—collisions, ships running aground, and engine defects.

The collegium's conclusion was completely logical—a serious deterioration of safety has been allowed. [passage omitted]

Heroin Smuggler Caught at Border Crossing
AU0203181189 Sofia BTA in English 1619 GMT 2 Mar 89

[Text] Sofia, March 2 (BTA)—Yet another attempt to smuggle across Bulgaria narcotics destined for Western Europe was foiled last night at the Kalotina border crossing with Yugoslavia. Bulgarian customs officers seized 8.5 kg of heroin, hidden in a specially designed secret compartment in the footboard of a West-German-registered Volvo motor car driven by a lady holding a F.R.G. passport. An investigation of the case is in progress.

USSR's Ligachev Continues Visit to Prague

Discusses Agriculture With Hanus

LD0903141589 Prague CTK in English
1333 GMT 9 Mar 89

[Text] Prague March 9 (CTK)—Soviet Communist Party Central Committee Politburo member and Secretary Yegor Ligachev met Czechoslovak Communist Party and government officials for a discussion of Czechoslovakia's agricultural policy on the second day of his visit here today.

Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee Secretary Frantisek Hanus stressed that agriculture represents a long-term stabilizing economic and political factor of the Czechoslovak national economy. Its successes are the result of 40 years of principled work of the party to build large-scale socialist farm production and achieve close ties between the workers and cooperative farmers and consistent attention of the state to the creation of conditions for the expansion of the material and technical base of agricultural enterprises. It was also marked by care to improve the qualifications of managers and create better conditions for work and life in villages. A well-thought-out application of progressive methods of management helped to make Czechoslovakia self-sufficient for 98 per cent of its food production and the nourishment of people was now comparable to the most developed states.

Frantisek Hanus also mentioned shortcomings surviving in agriculture and the food industry.

Yegor Ligachev was primarily interested in a search for more efficient forms of political leadership by the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, and the tasks of the single centre in restructuring of the economic mechanism were debated.

Other subjects included the possibilities of accelerating scientific-technological development in Czechoslovak agriculture, new economic tools of management of the agriculture and food complex, effectiveness of food production and the ways of reducing costs. The Soviet guest was also interested in food supply to the market, the range of products and novelties and the overall improvement of nourishment of the population.

Comments on Visit

LD0903230389 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1730 GMT 9 Mar 89

[Excerpts] The working visit to Czechoslovakia by Yegor Ligachev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, today entered its 2d day. Stanislav Benda reports:

[Benda] [Passage omitted] As part of today's program, Comrade Yegor Ligachev visited the meat combine in Prague Pisnice and the Mir unified agricultural cooperative in Jesenice.

The Pisnice meat combine is one of the biggest and most modern meat and meat product producers. Comrade Yegor Ligachev is accompanied by CPCZ Central Committee Secretary Frantisek Hanus, Soviet Ambassador to Czechoslovakia Viktor Lomakin, and other representatives. Accompanied by enterprise director Frantisek Dolejsi, they all observed the meat boning area with interest. Prior to this they went through the slaughterhouse and heard a detailed explanation of the technology and innovation program of the meat combine. The prototype equipment, which the guest also observed with interest, improves the production of soft salamis and enables the manufacture of specialities without wrappers. Yegor Ligachev was also interested in the production of smoked meats with a higher content of protein and less salt, which is in accordance with the principles of a healthy diet.

Just as at the closing talks in Pisnice, so at the Mir unified agricultural cooperative in Jesenice was Comrade Ligachev interested in the work of communists and members of the youth union. He asked about progress in restructuring and about specific results. The whole visit to the cooperative began in the new mechanization center in Vesec. The cars then drove through the territory of the cooperative, which contains nine villages and part of the Prague-4 ward. The Mir unified agricultural cooperative in Jesenice is in fact a milk supplier for Prague. It delivers 7 million liters to Laktos Kyje, all of it top quality.

Before ending his visit to the Jesenice cooperative, Comrade Yegor Ligachev shared with us his first impressions of his visit to Czechoslovakia.

[Begin Ligachev recording in Russian with superimposed Czech translation] As far as impressions are concerned, mine are of the best kind. We expected as much when on the Politburo's recommendation we left for Czechoslovakia.

Our journey is linked with the fact that in the near future there will be a plenum of the party's Central Committee on questions of the current agricultural policy. We can say without exaggeration that our people are waiting for this plenum. They are waiting in the hope that we will work out an agricultural policy that will in the very near future enable a considerable improvement in supplying the inhabitants of our country with food. We know that our Czechoslovak friends have interesting experiences in agricultural management and the development of the food industry. It appears that we will find answers to the questions that interest us.

We declared at the 27th party congress and at the 19th all-union party conference that it is necessary to study more intensively and to a greater extent the experiences of fraternal countries and fraternal parties. Our visit is proof of the best possible attitude toward the experiences of friendly countries. We believe that these experiences will help us find the right solution to a whole number of questions, including those of agricultural policy. [end recording]

Husak's Health 'Satisfactory'; Jakes Visits

LD0903222789 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 2200 GMT 9 Mar 89

[Text] The state of health of Comrade Gustav Husak, president of the Republic, is satisfactory, as tomorrow's issue of RUDE PRAVO reports according to information provided to its editorial office by official bodies.

Comrade Gustav Husak has now been in a hospital for several days, and the course of his illness indicates that he soon could be discharged. However, the exact date of this will be determined by the doctors in charge.

The president of the Republic has been visited at the hospital by Comrade Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, who wished him a speedy recovery on behalf of the party leadership.

Reports of Poor Health 'Unfounded'

LD0903202289 Prague CTK in English 1920 GMT 9 Mar 89

[Text] Prague March 9 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry Spokesman Ivan Kulhanek today described as positive the results of the three-day meeting in Vienna of the foreign ministers of the Helsinki Final Act signatory countries.

Kulhanek told a press conference that the East-West dialogue is developing successfully, particularly between the USSR and the USA, and stressed that the unilateral disarmament steps of the USSR and the other socialist countries create favourable conditions for the talks of the 23 Warsaw Treaty and NATO member states on reducing conventional forces and for the talks of the 35 CSCE signatories. Czechoslovakia contributed towards these talks with its initiative to establish a zone of confidence and cooperation along the borderline between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO countries.

Asked by a correspondent of the French AFP agency about the health state of President Gustav Husak, Ivan Kulhanek said that all the untruthful reports about the President Gustav Husak's health state and other speculations concerning his person, spread by some foreign radio stations and agencies, are completely unfounded.

Head of the press department of the Czechoslovak Government Presidium office Miroslav Pavel said the purpose of the meeting here on March 13-14 of government experts from the neighbouring countries is to consider questions to be discussed at the meeting of the premiers on ecological problems.

Referring to the government's session today, Mayor of Prague Zdenek Horcik said it is for the first time the federal government discussed very thoroughly the problems concerning the Czechoslovak capital. For the sake of improving the environment, questions of modernizing the industry, subduing undesirable branches, including the gradual removal of some kinds of production out of Prague, will be a priority. In addition, heating with solid fuels will cease by the year 2000, to be replaced by natural gas and also electricity.

Adamec Speech Praises Role of Women

AU0903202489 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 8 Mar 89 p 1, 2

["Speech By Comrade Ladislav Adamec", CSSR premier, at the Prague Castle reception marking International Women's Day on 7 March]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade General Secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, esteemed comrades, dear guests,

Allow me, on behalf of the party and state organs, Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee; and Gustav Husak, president of the CSSR, to congratulate you and all Czechoslovak women on International Women's Day. At the same time, allow me to apologize for CSSR President Gustav Husak, who suddenly became ill.

On this occasion we want to congratulate the women-mothers who today received high state honors for their exemplary upbringing of many children.

We meet in the rooms of time-honored Prague Castle, which is the symbol of Czechoslovak statehood. The foundation of the prosperity of the state, of the continuity of generations, of human cohesion, and of patriotic sentiment, always has been and always will be the family. In the stability of the family unit rests the certainty that our country will have daughters and sons proud of the great feats of the past and courageous builders of the future. Only in the healthy atmosphere of mutual respect and support, of the equal responsibility of both parents for the upbringing of their children, will worthy successors to our nations grow up. In many respects the further progress of socialism depends on the strengthening of the awareness of the rights and responsibilities of parenthood, motherhood, and fatherhood.

We have entered into a period of intensive preparations for the 18th CPCZ Congress, we are preparing a new CSSR constitution, economic plans, and other important

documents. Part of the contents and rhythm of the coming weeks and months will be work on the political, socioeconomic, cultural, and legal principles of the agenda of state policy regarding families and the young generation. We are counting on the active contribution of the entire National Front, particularly the Czechoslovak Women's Union. We are engaged in the creation of better conditions for the fulfillment of the joyfull maternal mission, the natural desire for the happiness of a secure home.

Esteemed Comrades,

Experience has shown that the liberation and the equality of women is neither a contrivance nor an unfulfilled desire. A series of undisputed facts proves this. There are no fields of study, no occupations or professions in which they would not be able to apply themselves. They are educated, financially independent, and the legal code is on their side. Despite this, however, these are not reasons for self-satisfaction. On the contrary, this leads to more serious criticism of the real use of the possibility of employment and social application, of the lack of free time for carrying out family duties.

These are complicated questions that have no simple answer. While discussing these problems, we proceed from reality and not from a desire, from real needs and not from illusions. We do not want to cover up and justify unfulfilled promises or to postulate unrealizable matters; we consider only a realistic and frank policy to be correct. Many worries, fears, and types of confusion crop up among women. They consider what economic reform and restructuring of the economic mechanism will bring them, their families, and children, and how these will manifest themselves in the workplace and in the home.

We appreciate the frankness and sincerity of these approaches. We appreciate that they are supporting the efforts of the CPCZ, the National Front, and the socialist state to better manage our national wealth, to more successfully keep in step with the most advanced states of the world, to more justly compensate people, and most of all to think more about the needs of the people. We understand their fear that this should not stop only at fine words. We consider them as a manifestation of caring about today and the future of our country, about the perspective of socialism. We do not reject justified criticism of the weak areas of management organs, but it is impossible to rely on the fact that it is within the power of the center to solve and resolve local, concrete problems. The political and national economic center can create for this the required political and legal, organizational, and methodological conditions. But only workers, citizens, and social collectives can rebuild that which has become obsolete and is unsuitable. No one else can or will do this for them.

In our country women make up half the population and half the work force. Without their trust and support, it would be impossible to move anything along in our life or to substantially change anything. When they adopt the matter of restructuring for themselves, when they understand its meaning and support it by practical deeds, we will move forward. We are aware of all the objective and subjective obstacles. One of these is confusing the true principle of the equality of women with false egalitarian approaches. The issue is not that a man and a woman should always and everywhere fulfill the same roles. However, their roles must be—besides the preservation of natural individual characteristics—recognized as having equal social significance. It is not by chance that the image of a woman with a child belongs to the foundation of European culture. It is possible to substitute things for certain functions of a mother, but it is in no way possible to completely replace them. The negative consequences of undervaluing this truth are attested by the high divorce rates among young couples, the growth in the number of one-parent families, and the high abortion rate. Parenthood also requires maturity.

This situation disturbs us, and it is impossible to view it passively. Perhaps the return of woman from the workplace to domesticity and to the kitchen is the answer. We are for another way—for giving a woman the greater opportunity to devote herself to her family while maintaining her access to social assertion. At a time of embarking on the more active use of all the riches of our country, of all the material resources of society, we must not leave untapped the potential of women's capabilities and qualifications. However, we must manage these better.

The embarked-upon course of granting equal rights to women by involving them in employment and social activity was correct in principle, and we will continue with this. Even in this sphere—as in the whole understanding of socialism—many one-sided views on automatic progress have put down roots. These views include blind faith in the possibility of completely replacing maternal care and emotional upbringing by means of an extracurricular establishment; the growth of the materialistic way of life; and increasing efforts to transfer parental worries and all responsibility for the upbringing of children and the results of a frivolous attitude toward marriage to the state.

The core of this complicated tangle of problems is a constant lack of time, with all its accompanying health, educational, psychological, and moral implications. We are aware of this debt, and we want to gradually repay it. Therefore, we are coming around to a basic reevaluation of the role of the tertiary sphere, particularly the development of services. We are considering the possibilities of amending the work hours of women with small children. We are discussing improving conditions for solving the housing problem of young people by making the terms of the construction of family homes more advantageous. Many resources lie in the improvement of

the work of schools, social organizations, and state institutions. These must fulfill their functions better than heretofore, and they must not pass these on to women and the family.

The purpose of our efforts for higher economic efficiency is the creation of greater resources for a more active social policy. We consider its main element to be the caring for a contented, harmonious family environment, which creates irreplaceable social values that are impossible to express in figures. Only such an environment can guarantee the formation of good interpersonal relations and the establishment of an atmosphere of exactingness and truthfulness which is conducive to creativity, a craving for education, the desire to excel, and a sense of integrity, modesty, and honest labor. Life shows that marital, parental, and family happiness can be neither donated nor decreed. It can be achieved only through the common efforts on the part of citizens, society, and the state. This is why we view the harmonization of all educational factors as one of our most immediate and urgent tasks.

Esteemed comrades,

Each of us will probably find at least a brief moment today to remember the person to whom he addressed his first wishes and with whom he is forever tied to by bonds of love. We think of our mothers. We think of the woman as the giver of life. This is also why on International Women's Day we regularly note what we do to protect life in our country. We all are very fortunate in being able to term last year not only as a year of hopes, but also as one of actual steps toward strengthening peace. We take pride in the fact that Czechoslovakia is marching side by side with the Soviet Union along roads leading to disarmament. Over the past decades, however, yet another front has come into existence on which we must fight for the protection of life. If we want our country to continue to abound in fertile fields, deep forests, and clear waters, if we want our cities to be the beautiful home of healthy people, we must all put our shoulder to the wheel—from members of the smallest labor team up to the federal government.

Esteemed Comrades,

In the interest of democratization, we have adopted a businesslike, constructive dialogue with women on everything that they consider useful and on improving those things that they suggest so that they can devote their best talents to nurturing the young generation for the conditions of the 3d millennium, to preparing a generation of bold trailblazers of new thinking and active shapers of a democratic, economically efficient, socially equitable, and culturally advanced socialist society. There is no more rewarding and deserving cause.

I thank you for your dedication and initiative, good work results, and support for the program of restructuring and democratization. I wish you many successes, good health, and contentedness in your further activity.

Meeting With Helsinki Federation Canceled

AU0803151989 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 7 Mar 89 p 2

[CTK report: "A Delegation of the Helsinki Federation in the CSSR"]

[Text] Prague—At the invitation of the Committee of the Czechoslovak Public for Human Rights and Humanitarian Cooperation, a delegation of the Vienna-based International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights led by its chairman Karl Johannes von Schwarzenberg arrived in Prague. The purpose of its visit to Czechoslovakia is to discuss the possibilities of cooperation between both organizations.

Part of the agenda was also to have been a meeting with representatives of CSSR state organs. However, according to an announcement by the Committee of the Czechoslovak Public for Human Rights and Humanitarian Cooperation, Monday's [6 March] planned meeting at the Czech SR Ministry of Justice and the Federal Ministry of the Interior Passport and Visa Office could not take place because members of the International Helsinki Federation set conditions for the talks that were unacceptable to CSSR state organs.

Tomorrow a meeting will take place between the delegation and the leadership of the Committee of the Czechoslovak Public for Human Rights and Humanitarian Cooperation and with representatives of the Czechoslovak Peace Committee.

Two Receive Prison Terms for 'Incitement'

LD0903180189 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1700 GMT 9 Mar 89

[Text] Today the district court in Jihlava found 54-year-old Ivan Jirous and 34-year-old Jiri Tichy guilty of the crime of incitement. Due to enmity toward the Republic's socialist and state system, they incited several people by jointly conceiving and writing a document in April to August last year in which they insulted and libeled the Czechoslovak state and political organs, accused them of physical and psychological terror, and also described in a distorted and unfounded way the decisionmaking actions of state organs on criminal affairs.

For this behavior, the court sentenced Ivan Jirous, who has already been convicted four times, to an unconditional sentence of 16 months' imprisonment, to be served in the second educational-corrective group. Jiri Tichy, who has not previously been convicted, was

unconditionally sentenced to 6 months' imprisonment, to be served in the first educational-corrective group. The sentence is subject to appeal.

A delegation of the Vienna-based International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights and representatives of the Committee of the Czechoslovak Public for Human Rights and Humanitarian Cooperation were present at the trial.

Man Receives 5 Years for Industrial 'Sabotage'

AU0703130089

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 27 February on page 3 carries a 1,500-word article by Miroslav Zeman entitled "Why Did a Saboteur Have Free Hands; Did No One Really See or Hear Anything?" The article deals with the case of Jozef Martinicky, 56, whom the regional court in Banska Bystrica sentenced to 5 years' imprisonment on charges of "sabotage." Although, as Zeman notes, the verdict was passed last year, "the media have been notified of this only recently."

The article reveals that, "out of political motives," Martinicky "decided to harm the Republic and to become a saboteur." In the pursuit of this intention, he took advantage of his position as test engineer in the engine plant of the Martin heavy engineering works, which produces engines for Zetor tractors, to falsify data in the records on engine tests, to damage measuring equipment, and, in general, to "violate the technological testing procedures." He reportedly also "made it possible for the mechanics under him to engage in shoddy workmanship."

According to Zeman, Martinicky was able to carry out his acts of sabotage for more than 2 years (between October 1984 when he became test engineer and April 1987). Although there were "many indications" suggesting that something was wrong with the Zetor engines (in 1986, for example, the plant reportedly received customers' claims for compensation for 20 percent of all engines), no attempt was ever made to identify the source of the defects. Zeman blames this on the plant management's "criminal indifference and neglect of basic duties."

Readers Condemn Havel, Artists' Petition

AU0803081589 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 3 Mar 89 p 3

["MB"-signed article: "Who Is Vaclav Havel; Response to an Article in RUDE PRAVO"]

[Text] On Thursday, 23 February, RUDE PRAVO carried a comprehensive article under the headline "Who Is Vaclav Havel?" This stirred up a considerable response from readers.

While the majority of readers identified with this article, there were those who had a different opinion. Symptomatic of their letters is the reasoning which, for example, is outlined by H.V. from Liberec in his letter: "The unequivocal attempt to blacken the name of a man whose human and artistic qualities are recognized throughout the cultural world must outrage every discerning reader." Reader J.B. from Holesovice again thinks that the Havel family of entrepreneurs already did enough for our Republic due to the fact that "it set up Lucerna Hall with all the paraphernalia and the Barrandov film studios.... It is a pity that we did not inherit more such Havels from the First Republic." J.M. from Cesky Krumlov writes: "Now, having read your article 'Who Is Vaclav Havel,' I am reassured of how valuable, high-principled, and fearless Mr Vaclav Havel is, a man who knows what he is fighting for...." Artur Steinberg from Prague-1 provides us with an interesting testimony in his letter: "I would like to point out something concerning the article on Vasek Havel. I knew him personally, so I know what he stood for. What you printed about him is a pure lie. Although it is true that he wanted the old times to return, the period before we were all born.... If you do not set free and restore the good name of our supporters, you will see what else we can do. But also be careful about what you print. Otherwise you will see how we can stir things up...."

However, the majority of letters testified to the fact that our readers are of a different opinion. "By this letter I want to express my appreciation and thanks for your act and stance. Yes, it is necessary to call things by their real names. For many of our citizens, even from the ranks of youth, which was recently manipulated for dirty aims in Prague, this Chartist was well-nigh made out to be a 'national hero'. Life constantly confirms how it is necessary to implement a class-type point of view in policy," writes J.S. from Pardubice. (As with other correspondents, his name and address are contained in the letter sent to the editorial office. They are not being published due to a decision by RUDE PRAVO.)

"I welcome the publication of the editorial article 'Who is Vaclav Havel?' I think that similar articles pointing out the cadre, moral, human, and political profiles of other persons of like thinking ought to have been published much sooner. I am convinced that the overwhelming majority of a fully informed public would stand on the right side out of its own conviction," J.F. from Jilove near Prague states in his letter. In this letter the meaning of glasnost is further discussed. "Interest and, in part, also sympathy for the initiators of similar movements is aroused—given that the public is not fully informed—in many people by the fact that their activity and intentions are enveloped in some kind of cloak of martyrdom and secrecy. Interest in hushed-up and secret things is general and conspicuous, especially among the young and younger generation, which does not have such firmly established opinions and convictions as the majority of older people, especially those who know the pre-Munich conditions and the following years from their own experience."

"At last you pointed out the character of the Chartist Havel and went on the offensive against those loudmouths not only in our country but also at foreign radio stations.... Subversives in our country call themselves 'organizations for the protection of the unjustifiably persecuted and fighters for human rights', and at the same time they themselves disturb the peace in the Republic and intentionally whip up provocation and disturbances...", writes J.H. from Heroltice.

"How is it possible that for all his life in a socialist republic this man constantly looks for a way to discredit our government, state organs, and the results of the efforts of honest working people? Why are we always so tolerant of 'underground' representatives and also parasitic elements?" asks V.M. from Semily. "The difficult task of implementing restructuring awaits us, but I constantly see around me the behavior of citizens who are looking for a way to delay the process of restructuring or even reverse it. Among them are people of all age groups and all kinds of professions. I desire only one thing: that all honest people begin to uncompromisingly enforce the restructuring of the economic mechanism, maintain socialist legality, and differentiate between the character of people. There are people who want to devastate and subvert our beloved homeland. We have no time left to decently bring up the new generation, which will assume the sceptre of government and honest work. A fundamental prerequisite of this upbringing is the faultless behavior of our adults. Meanwhile, in many cases, it is the opposite of this," writes 40-year-old V.M. from Semily.

"We have just finished reading the article "Who Is Vaclav Havel?" We are utterly shocked. It is not clear to us how it is possible that such a man was able to travel abroad, who accepted him into the theater as a repertory adviser, or how he was able to write for magazines and to publish. This is a man who does what he wants and where he wants," write husband and wife J.V. and A.V., both retired, from Uherske Hradiste. They assure us in their letter, however, that they both are at least actively trying to do the right thing in their town.

"I am 50 years old and have been a member of the party for at least 30 years. During these years I have tried not only to carry out honest work but also to do something for society. I do this today because I think it is necessary. I think that such people are in the overwhelming majority in our country. It is true that in the period of constructing socialism we made a series of mistakes which today manifest themselves in many sectors, and that we cannot be satisfied with everything. We are aware of these shortcomings. We are not hiding them, and we will not hide them. But unlike Mr Havel and 'patriots' like him, we, honest communists, and with us nonparty members, for whom the development and welfare of our Republic lies close to the heart, will do everything we can to get rid of the shortcomings and help to bring restructuring to life."

"I want to point out to Mr Havel and other saviors of our democracy like him that if they are such 'experienced politicians,' then they ought to know that the development that they would like to introduce into our society is completely unrealistic and at variance with historical development. The wheel of history indeed keeps turning forward, and in our Republic there are enough honest people to ensure that the opposite will not happen. Also, our agricultural workers would chase them if they wanted to force them into toiling again for farmers and private landowners. It is good that in the article 'Who Is Vaclav Havel?' you acquainted our young generation in particular with his social background and explained what had induced his hatred and libel of our Socialist Republic. Every sensible and discerning person must appreciate the great efforts which which have been completed since February 1948. We have nothing to be ashamed of. There still live among us a number of witnesses who ought to tell mainly the young how families of miners lived in mining colonies, families of landless persons in villages, and how the families of Mr Havel and others lived," writes J.S. from Duchcov. At the same time, in conclusion he objects to the type of sentence Mr Havel received. "This sentence, and I am writing this without any emotion, ought to be completely different. It ought to be a warning to all those who are trying to subvert life in our country."

Through the medium of his letter to RUDE PRAVO, reader S.S. from Chvaletice turns to all those who recently signed a petition to the CSSR premier calling for the release of V. Havel. "It is right that you published his moral profile and antisocialist activity. Perhaps this will open the eyes of those who defended him and campaigned for his release. Socialism gave our artists opportunities to realize and develop their artistic talents. Every discerning citizen, however, must ask: Do they have the same aims and views as the person for whom they are campaigning? Everyone must be aware that a violation of the law must be followed by punishment. It is impossible to allow anarchy and subversion."

J.C. from Melnik also asks a similar question: "I am convinced that the facts outlined in the article will open the eyes of many people, and that after reading it they will change their opinion about Vaclav Havel and will certainly understand which aims he pursues and for what reasons he conducts his 'holy' war against our socialist system. Personally, it does not surprise me that he is a sworn enemy of our socialist society. It prevented him from having a governess, a servant, a gardener, and a chauffeur, and it prevented him from living off unearned income. But I cannot understand why people who ought to be united with our working people, and with society, which have allowed them full creative development, campaign on behalf of such a man. Radio Free Europe publicized their names with great joy and thus used them in inflammatory propaganda against our homeland. And it is not only cultural workers who are striving for the release of V. Havel but recently also individuals who

achieved academic titles in our society, who study was paid for by all our money, and who are acting against our own interests."

"I am very angry about the fact that certain members of our intelligentsia, artists, and scientists are signing 'pressure' letters. In many public statements they assume the right to be the conscience of the nation, and at the same time they turn to us today even through the medium of seditious foreign radio stations. Their claims that some of them did not know what they were signing do not stand up. I am a simple man—a pensioner—but I would never sign anything that was in disagreement with the interests of our socialist society," writes J.K. from Prague-10.

In his reminiscences, reader D.Z. from Olomouc returns to the years 1945-48. "I am proud that in February 1948 even my wife participated in the congress of factory councils. I recall April 1947, when from the gallery of Olomouc's town hall then Premier Comrade Gottwald made a speech. I still remember his words: 'In our state, rats are crawling out from their holes to block our way to a socialist future.' In certain places in our Republic antisocialist forces are currently again activating themselves. Therefore, it was very expedient to explain in detail who Vaclav Havel is. Today we know that he is a sworn opponent of our socialist society, a man who comes from a family which never had anything in common with the working class. Today his reflections on agriculture are ridiculous. I do not know anyone who would today leave the JZD [United Agricultural Cooperative] to farm under the old system. I object to the fact that our cultural front stands up for a man such as Vaclav Havel. What would Wolker, Olbracht, and Pujmanova say to our cultural workers and also that whole galaxy of actors and other artists who in 1948 unequivocally decided to go with the workers? The socialist system gave our cultural front great opportunities. I presume that they are the people who ought to be able to tell where the truth of progress is and where the reactionary views are."

In a long letter, J.D. from Nove Hrady also views the period through which we have passed since 1948. "It is comforting that you reveal the true face and mission of the person whom the Western mass media so ardently deify and who was rightly convicted according to our socialist laws. Thus, each one of our citizens is able to recognize who Mr Havel is and what he wants, and also the other so-called defenders of human rights. It is strange that these people assume the right to attack our constructive efforts and cast aspersions against the selfless endeavor of the workers, farmers, and intelligentsia. According to them, we ought to discard the whole postwar period, the period in which we laid the foundations of today's society. What is more, they are trying to drive a wedge between the CSSR and USSR nations. I greatly appreciate the fact that those who by their daily work create the values and who stand in the vanguard of restructuring of our society are increasingly expressing their opinion on these attempts. Their voice ought to be even louder, even more outspoken, and I do not hesitate to say this, even more militant. For it is impossible to throw away the years of building the large youth projects such as the 'Youth Railway Construction Project', the 'Project of Young Builders of Socialism' in Ostrava, the 'Villages of Youth' and their precursors in the construction of Litvinov and Balaze in Slovakia, and so on. However, it is particularly impossible to discrd the legacy of glorious February 1948 when we embarked once and for all upon the building of today's society. But it is not only the postwar period; it is also the period of 20 years ago when people of Havel's type and others caused damage which the working people again had to eradicate by their tenacious work." At the end of his letter, J.D. ponders the meaning of correct cadre work: "For us to not allow access to party functions to people who by their antisocialist intentions or character threaten the move forward, the way our CPCZ has marked out." He assumes that after the publication of our article, opinions will be expressed by "...even these several hundred artists who stood up in defense of Mr Havel. Certainly, their point of view will be interesting, if for no other reason than because they now know for whom they in fact were fighting, and they now can decide whether Mr Havel and others like him are worth it. They now know that they allowed their names to be smeared, that they even gave them for use by Radio Free Europe."

Slusovice Offers To Open Chain of Food Stores

AU0903114289 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 7 Mar 89 p 3

["OT"-signed report: "What Is the MOSYV Program; the Slusovice Road Toward Modern and Healthy Nutrition"]

[Excerpts] Statistics show that our eating habits are unhealthy and that our nutritional regime is flawed. [passage omitted]

This is why less than 1 and ½ years ago the idea was born in the Agrokombinat Slusovice united agricultural cooperative to introduce MOSYV [Czech acronym for modern system of nutrition], a conceptual program for the development of food production on the basis of scientific knowledge. "Within the framework of this program we deal with both agricultural production itself and with the conversion of agricultural produce into high-quality food products, including packaging, storage, and distribution," Eng M. Kovarik, candidate of sciences and deputy director of the Agrokombinat Slusovice united agricultural cooperative in charge of foreign trade, said in our conversation at the "Salima" international food fair in Brno. [passage omitted] "We proceed from the premise that large agricultural entities of the combine type that are connected with modern production facilities, are best placed to implement the concept of healthy nutrition. At the same time, we also deal with the question of packaging. Next to polyethylene, polypropylene, and polystyrene, we have recently also been using polyethylene terephtalate. And, what is important, we are able to recycle the waste from the materials we use in

what is virtually a zero-waste production cycle. We are displaying this new manufacturing technology here in Brno in cooperation with the Austrian Greiner firm as our partner in cooperation. This is one step toward being able, over a period of time, to move our food program toward self-financing. For the time being we are affected by insufficient allocations of materials. Domestic production of polyethylene terephtalate, for instance, has been delayed for 3 years, and we are forced to use hard currency to import it."

The MOSYV program has only begun. Obviously, it is not intended just for the inhabitants of Slusovice and its surroundings. "We would like to create conditions for the healthy nutrition of the general public," Engineer Kovarik said at the conclusion of the conversation, "and thereby contribute to improving the negative statistics of our people's state of health. We have, for example, offered to build a complete network of shops for Prague, Brno, and Bratislava, including the supply of our range of products."

The Slusovice cooperative is exhibiting 72 food products at the Salima fair. For the time being, not all of them meet the criteria of MOSYV. Some are known from the Slusovice agricultural combine's shops, while others will only be introduced, often in cooperation with other domestic or foreign partners. Seven products are competing for the "Golden Salima" award, including new types of flavored milk, yogurt, "Forman" cheese, and others. Twenty-three packaging articles are competing for laurels at the Embax print exhibition. [passage omitted]

Late last year the Slusovice cooperative opened a special shop, the QUATRO S, for its employees. Its hours of business are 1200-2100, so that members of the cooperative are able to do their shopping after work, without haste, and without having to worry about the range of merchandise. During the season, up to 80 tourist buses a day stop at Slusovice. And because the guests are diligent buyers, after work members of the cooperative used to have only a limited range of products to choose from.

Streletz Interviewed on Troop Reductions, NATO

AU0703132189 Vienna VOLKSSTIMME in German 7 Mar 89 p 8

["Exclusive interview" with Colonel General Fritz Streletz, deputy defense minister and chief of the Main Staff of the National People's Army, by Erich Feichtinger in Berlin: "At the Border Line Between the Military Alliances"; date not given]

[Text] [Feichtinger] Colonel General, prior to the Vienna negotiations on conventional armed forces in Europe, the GDR announced reductions of its Armed Forces. What is the political and military significance of these reductions?

Streletz: As you know, the military confrontation of the opposing military alliances is particularly dangerous in Europe, where there are enormous arms arsenals. Therefore, in the interest of eliminating the danger of war and of consolidating peace, we are in favor of drastic reductions of the Armed Forces and armaments.

In order to continue this process without a break after the conclusion of the INF Treaty, the Warsaw Pact states have decided to considerably reduce their conventional Armed Forces unilaterally and independent of negotiations.

[Feichtinger] This means a massive reduction of personnel and of the arms arsenal of the National People's Army [NVA].

Streletz: Yes. At the decision of the GDR National Defense Council, the NVA will be reduced by 10,000 men by the end of 1990; this is about 6 percent of its current strength and corresponds to more than, for example, the current strength of the 16th Belgian Tank Infantry Division in the FRG. At the same time, six tank regiments and one air squadron will be disbanded and 600 tanks and 50 combat aircraft will be taken out of service. The expenditure for national defense will be reduced by 10 percent.

[Feichtinger] If one reduces armaments, one might be accused of only throwing out junk. What will really be reduced?

Streletz: The NVA is a relatively small army and, therefore, it cannot afford to have old technical equipment. We have relatively modern arms, and this is what we will reduce. The technical equipment which will be withdrawn will be taken out of the combat-ready units. Thus, when a tank regiment is disbanded the type of tanks which this regiment had will also be withdrawn. The tanks will either be reequipped for economic purposes or will be scrapped.

[Feichtinger] In connection with the reduction measures it was also announced that the NVA will be given a strictly defensive character. What does this mean?

Streletz: In line with our joint defense doctrine, which was adopted by the Warsaw Pact states in Berlin in May 1987, it is our goal to gradually change the strength and structure of the Armed Forces of our alliance in such a way that they are sufficient for defense but are not suitable for extensive attack operations.

[Feichtinger] What is the concrete effect of this on the NVA?

Streletz: In order to give the NVA an even stricter defensive character, its structure and equipment will be oriented mainly toward carrying out active defense operations. Our motorized rifle units, for instance, will not have any tank regiments in the future. In addition, we have started to reduce the number and scope of our troops exercises. More than 200 maneuver observers from the CSCE signatory states, among them also officers of the Austrian Army, have been able to convince themselves during six sets of maneuvers on GDR territory that the military activities carried out do not pose a threat to any other state.

[Feichtinger] You referred to the Warsaw Pact's defense doctrine. Will the military doctrine also be "adjusted" in this connection?

Streletz: The goals and principles of the GDR military doctrine correspond completely to the joint military doctrine of the Warsaw Pact and, like it, it has a strictly defensive character. It is its supreme goal to do everything so that war will never again start from German soil.

The defensive character of the GDR military doctrine has always been reflected by its political side, because it corresponds to the nature of socialism to work for the preservation and consolidation of peace. At present, the GDR Armed Forces and all other Armies of the Warsaw Pact states are working on implementing even more the military-technical side of the joint defense doctrine in the national military doctrines and in military practice.

[Feichtinger] Which role do the so-called hostile images play in the GDR and its Armed Forces in connection with what you have just said?

Streletz: In their Berlin declaration on a joint military doctrine of May 1987 the Warsaw Pact states again stated clearly: "They do not consider any state or any people as their enemy." Our countries do not have any territorial claims toward their neighbors and do not intend to force their social system, and their concept of freedom and democracy on other peoples.

[Feichtinger] How does this affect a state which is in a special situation because of its location at the border line between the two military alliances and because of the existence of another German state?

Streletz: The GDR cannot and must not overlook the fact that to the West of its national border there are influential forces, who, as our country's highest representative, Erich Honecker, stated, do not like the borders that developed as a result of World War II and of the postwar development.

Therefore, we consider it our duty to make our citizens and soldiers aware of the dangers that emanate from this for them, their lives, and for the achievements accomplished by our society through hard work and of what they can do against this with their work or during their service as soldiers. In our view, this problem will become less important to the extent to which it is possible—as a result of the disarmament negotiations—to gradually eliminate military confrontation on the European continent and strengthen mutual trust.

[Feichtinger] Colonel General, while we are sitting here and discussing disarmament and defensive military doctrines, in the FRG the first use of nuclear missiles is being tested. Does the Wintex-Cimex command post exercise not give a GDR officer food for thought?

Streletz: If you studied our press, you will have noticed that we are paying a lot of attention to these problems because we think that these exercises that are carried out on FRG territory do not correspond to what the FRG Government keeps saying. These measures certainly do not help to build confidence and further strengthen security.

[Feichtinger] In addition to these exercises, the plans for modernizing the NATO nuclear arsenal are also causing concern. What is the GDR's reaction to this?

Streletz: Like many people in the European countries, our citizens and soldiers are observing with great concern the NATO efforts to equip its Armed Forces with new and ever more perfect weapons and to undo the successes achieved in the field of disarmament of intermediate-range missiles. They do not understand that, in view of the peace initiatives of the socialist countries and the forthcoming Vienna disarmament talks, as well as contrary to the demands of broad circles of the population, the disastrous arms race is being continued in the NATO states, and the FRG Government, for instance, rejects a renunciation of the modernization of short-range nuclear missiles.

[Feichtinger] Which way would you choose? Which possibilities would you propose for dealings between the FRG and the GDR?

Streletz: Proceeding from the jointly set down view that war must never again start from German soil but only peace, Erich Honecker, the highest representative of the GDR, has made varied initiatives for the continuation of cooperation between the GDR and the FRG in the interest of the dynamic continuation of the process of detente and disarmament in Europe.

In this connection he has affirmed on many occasions that the GDR advocates without any reservations a nuclear-free corridor, a chemical-weapons-free zone, and a zone of trust and security in central Europe. We think that regional steps will help to bring about far-reaching agreements, because they increase trust and security and are appropriate for reducing the fear of being threatened.

[Feichtinger] What can the military officials do on both sides? How can they change their relationship?

Streletz: The offer presented by the GDR Defense Minister, Army General Kessler, to hold talks with FRG Defense Minister Scholz on issues of mutual interest point in the same direction. We have good relations with the Austrian Army, and the Armed Forces of Sweden and Switzerland, for example. A lively exchange of delegations is taking place in this sphere.

So, why should this not be possible between the GDR and FRG? On the basis of the Stockholm document, there has been positive experience concerning the mutual observation of exercises between the two states, for example.

We, for our part, would consider it worthwhile to extend this to other spheres, by initiating talks between the chiefs of military services, for example. We are ready to start such talks without preconditions.

The invitation for Defense Minister Scholz is still valid. We hope that he will accept it one day because we see no reason why the two ministers should not discuss topical issues. Very often, it is easier to solve problems in personal discussions.

[Feichtinger] Apropos FRG: There have been strong protests among the population against low-altitude flights. What do you think of low-altitude flights?

Streletz: In the GDR, all flights—no matter by whom they are carried out—are subject to the aviation law. Flights at altitudes of 70 or 80 meters—like those in the FRG—are not permitted in our country. There is a certain noise pollution in the vicinity of airports because our planes must, of course, take off and land. If we carry out low-altitude flights at all, we do them along the Baltic Sea.

[Feichtinger] Colonel General, you mentioned relations with Austria, with the Austrian Army. What are they like?

Streletz: Your country's neutrality, its role as a host to various disarmament forums, as well as the deployment of contingents of the Austrian Army in UN peace-keeping forces meet with respect in the GDR. The contacts between the armies of our two states are part of the overall good relations between our countries.

Due to the defensive character of our two armies, we have a lot in common. This finds its expression in, among other things, mutual visits on all levels. We are convinced that the contacts between the armies of our countries will be expanded in the interest of promoting confidence.

Further Speeches at National Assembly Session

Szuros Addresses Session

AU0903133089 Budapest MTI in English 2234 GMT 7 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest, MTI, 07/03/1989—After passing a decision on personnel issues, the HSWP CC [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party Central Committee] heard a report on topical international affairs by Matyas Szuros.

Now, at end of the eighties, Hungary's foreign policy is also on the verge of a new era, he said. It is a fundamental contradiction of the Hungarian situation that, while the international political conditions create a very favourable opportunity for solving Hungary's increasingly aggravated internal problems, her national performance has been dramatically depreciated by the world economic situation. He added that the direction of action she could now take was fundamentally dictated by the crisis of CMEA cooperation. The crisis of the CMEA does not justify her withdrawal from the organization. Relations with the Soviet Union, playing a determining role in Hungary's cooperation with the CMEA countries, are marked by several disorders because of a lack of harmony between the principles of operation of the two economies. Since Hungary depends to a certain extent on the Soviet market, it lies in her national interest to lay Hungarian-Soviet economic and political relations on new foundations, deepen them and make them more efficient.

Hungary will only be able to become a cooperative partner of West Europe if she makes every possible effort to evolve an economic structure suitable for cooperation. To maintain social stability is another basic condition. A HSWP that is unable to govern and an ungovernable Hungary will hardly be regarded by the West as a real partner. The past years have witnessed the emergence of an independent Hungarian foreign policy which gained prestige and a good reputation for the country all over the world, Mr Szuros said. This foreign policy renewal was heralded in the early eighties by a reassessment of the principles and practice of socialist cooperation, and the clarification of inter-relations between national and common interests. Owing to our endeavours, the hierarchical relations have been eased in our alliance system and replaced by partnership based on equal rights. The sweeping reassessment of our policy towards the Hungarians living in the neighbouring countries brought about a turn in Hungarian foreign policy.

"We have set about elaborating the foreign policy aspects of an independent Hungarian security policy, and reconfirmed in international forums that Hungary had a vested interest in belonging to the countries involved in the first phase of disarmament and the reduction of armed forces. We hold it possible for our alliance system to carry out major cuts, even unilaterally. Now we know that our stand has also contributed to the Soviet decision on major cuts in their armed forces and arms and the partial withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary. There have been major changes in our bilateral relations. We have established balanced contacts with all world powers, including the settlement of relations with China".

One of the developments of our day is that the change that took place in practice earlier, has now come into effect formally also, the direct supervision by the party of Hungarian diplomacy has been wound up. It is, however, obvious that the party can never renounce its influence on state foreign policy.

The HSWP has to take into consideration that the new parties now being formed will sooner or later establish contacts with their foreign partners. It would be quite undesirable, however, for a phenomenon to evolve in international relations which would hinder representation and assertion of common national interests. Therefore the foreign policy issue should be included on the agenda of the ongoing dialogues between the parties and various political organizations.

The final document of the Vienna follow-up meeting relating to human rights and humanitarian issues certifies that the issue of human rights became an integral part of interstate relations. A major part of the decrees on this issue reflect the fact that most of the countries belonging to the Warsaw Treaty lag behind on this issue.

Powerful differences could be witnessed within the Warsaw Treaty during the debates on economic and especially human rights and humanitarian issues. This meeting turned out to be the forum which manifested the diversity of opinions within the Warsaw Treaty, and at which the international reputation of Romania further decreased.

All the provisions contained in the final document are binding to participating nations. Hungary is to implement them accordingly, and will call the other participating states to account upon them. We will not accept Romania's statement of "special interpretations and reservations", according to which there would be a selection of liabilities to choose from, Mr Szuros stressed.

Mr Szuros announced that the HSWP was making efforts to organize a large-scale inter-party meeting and, to this effect, had established contacts with over 20 parties. The aim is to hold a round-table in Budapest in the early summer with informal discussions on the vital issues of Europe and the relations between the states and peoples of the continent.

Mr Szuros analyzed in detail the most important diplomatic events in Hungary in the recent period, and announced that, in the months to come, the Foreign Ministry would launch talks on the restoration of diplomatic relations with the State of Israel. The intensifying Soviet diplomatic activity in the Middle East provides a favourable background to that. It is in Hungary's vested interest to strengthen relations with Israel in such a way

that it should not make an adverse impact on our good relations with the Arab countries. With this in mind, we are going to receive Yasir 'Arafat, president of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization, here in Hungary.

Mr Szuros stated that the development of relations between Hungary and the Republic of Korea certainly did not mean that we sought to loosen our ties with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. The DPR of Korea, however, condemned in an unacceptable tone the settlement of relations with the Republic of Korea and responded by reducing our diplomatic relations to charge d'affaires level. The only socialist country to voice public agreement with the accusations of the DPRK was Romania. Our socialist partners noted our step with understanding, Mr Szuros said in conclusion.

Kulscar on Constitution

LD0803232889 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1130 GMT 8 Mar 89

[Speech by Justice Minister Kalman Kulcsar to the Hungarian National Assembly session in Budapest—live]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] In a country like Hungary the components of society's political culture have evolved through history; its particular features are especially significant. When preparing a written constitution which is expressedly defined as a legal document, one must pay all the more attention to these because, at a later stage, as part of the social environment which influences the implementation of the constitution these have, under any circumstances, a great impact on the operation of the constitution. Therefore, the possible aims and solutions must be analyzed very circumspectly. We already have an example in history as to what the consequences are of taking over structures and solutions alien to the history and relations of the country. We must not repeat this.

Tools that render impossible the formation of legal constructions that are alien to past Hungarian social development and to the progressive trends, that are artificial and therefore go hand-in-hand with many dysfunctional consequences, must be found. However, this must be done in such a way that this work, and its product, should not be attached to the concrete problems and daily solutions of the given situation. The danger is real. [passage omitted]

I quote one contributor to the debate on the U.S. Constitution:

The chick is hardly out of the egg before people want to pull a feather off it. In the Hungarian case the reverse situation also applies. We are not only plucking the chicken but we are also dressing it at the same time. We want to put on many beautiful principles, solutions borrowed from foreign countries—which are often incompatible—without consideration for coherence. In Hungary these wishes are also linked mostly to the daily political endeavors, and not infrequently initiated by suspicion and fear.

This fear and its social interconnections can also be traced. Thus, there is the fear that the Constitution, in an uncertainly defined or possibly in a utopistic fashion, will ensure the survival of an image of society rooted in the past—the model of socialism evolved in the USSR by the 1930s and taken over by Hungary between 1948 and 1949. There is also the fear that the political system laid down in the Constitution will ossify at an initial transient period when an authoritarian [tekintelyuralmi] political system is breaking down, and will thus block the road to further development or will open the road precisely for the maintenance of some elements of the political system which people want to see the end of and the road for a possible reversal will open up.

Then, there is also the fear that the Constitution—particularly in recognition of Hungary's 1,000 years of continuous state development and to ensure the historical continuity of constitutional progress—will transcend the decades starting from 1949, or even 1945, and in the name of historical continuity will endeavor to achieve some kind of historical restoration.

These fears are expressed in the form of doubts about whether the time is suitable for creating a new Constitution. People ask whether the transient, virtually daily changing circumstances provide sufficient security for those creating the Constitution to think in the long term. Do the force of daily solutions not distort the principles of the Constitution which are intended to be resistant to time behind which [words indistinct] very short term interests would hide?

Esteemed house, allow me not to deal with this issue in detail now. We may yet return to it at a later stage if necessary. I would say only that, according to our knowledge, in a situation which is calm and not full of tension it has rarely happened that a constitution was elaborated. [passage omitted]

I would very much like us to use the Constitution's ability to be used as a tool to build a consensus in a rational manner in laying down the foundation for our joint national future. It is our prime national interest that the formation of the Constitution as a process of building a consensus or at least promoting its development should create such a constitution which has the use in the future to be a tool for the maintenance of the consensus or least could prove to be a means for ensuring continuous agreement. [passage omitted]

Esteemed house, it is a peculiar but eventually explicable contradiction that the creation of alien, artificial constructions and their imposition on society—in the case of constitutions—are interrelated to the daily, short-term

circumstances too, even if these aim at long-term definitions, while starting out from these circumstances. It is for this reason too that such constitutions become primarily political declarations. That is why the program giving elements are dominant in them, and that is why their legal character is pale. Thus, the fact that we are stressing the legal character of the Constitution, most of all its feature of being a norm which is a term of reference in the courts too is also interrelated with this reason. The Constitution is a legal regulation. [passage omitted]

With its political content and impact it is naturally a political document, but this political character gains expression via the legal regulation and this means that it gains expression via the rationale, the inner logic of the law. Regardless of the extent to which the process of elaborating the Constitution itself is exposed to the various influences, in the end it cannot reflect—if it is to be successful in the long term—the daily political balance of forces, short-term endeavors, and ideas serving as justification for these. [passage omitted]

What character of the social, economic, and political system should be reflected in the Constitution, in the definition of the character, in the solution of the problems of this character; in laying down in the Constitution the relationship between the political forces, organizations, parties, and the state? These debates have not yet ended to this day, and whats more, it is very likely that the nationwide debate about the principles of regulation, the draft text of the legal regulation, will raise yet many new considerations in confirmation or rejection of the existing ones. [passage omitted]

The essential character of regulations in terms of the law and the need for their coherence, provides a tool that is impossible to ignore if we are to be able to weed out the elements stemming from this (?strange) situation from a political viewpoint, to define the signs of the longer-term processes, and that thus the constitution under preparation could serve both the solutions needed these days and the processes leading to the future. [passage omitted]

Regarding the character and aims of our society, the constitution must—in the normative text—contain only such statements... [Kulcsar changes thought] or more precisely, basic principles should be included which have legal content and which should be defined in terms of the law; these can be made to prevail with the law's assistance. [passage omitted]

Several proposals have been presented already regarding the principles to be laid down. Let me mention just one. There is a need for some kind of delineation of the tasks of the state vis-a-vis Hungarians living abroad. This proposal, in one form or another, has been put at virtually every debate regardless, if I may say so, of political party affiliation. However, I do not wish to deal with these proposals here and now. The situation is contradictory in this respect too. There are some who want a very minimal commitment on this in the constitution while, on the basis of historical experiences, they still expect the state to ensure via the constitution that monopolies will be prohibited while still allowing entrepreneurial freedom to develop. [passage omitted]

Regarding the organization of the government, beyond the most fundamental methods of construction—such as separation of powers—there are many significantly different possibilities to be found. However, regarding the principles which express the character of our society and which direct state activity, a consensus must be achieved on the broadest possible basis. We should lay down fewer universally accepted principles in the constitution.

Esteemed National Assembly, naturally I do not want to create the impression that the legal format and qualities of the constitution guarantee a priori its organic nature rooted in domestic circumstances, the continuity in building on long-term processes, and the selection between elements linked to daily political conditions. It is out of the question, despite their great significance. However, in line with our intention—and perhaps this is the most important—our constitution does, on the one hand, restore continuity in Hungarian state and constitutional development, with the principles crystallized in this latter.

Here I have in mind the idea of constitutionality or self-government; it endeavors to integrate itself into the main direction of European constitutional development, into the 1,000-year-old progress of political ideas and institutions which by now universally equates Europeanness with the pillars of civilization. [passage omitted]

Following from all this, the constitution is built on the idea of a state of law and a constitutional state which recognizes and guarantees human and civic rights, which implements the division of power, which formulates a system that protects constitutional rights and tenets, and which ensures that the constitution prevails in society.

So the regulatory principles, as compared to those of the earlier 1949 Constitution, approach the state in a qualitatively different manner. They separate the state from the political party. They arrange the relationship of the citizen and the state, breaking with an overly important interpretation of the state, so that the new Constitution should unequivocally be focused on the citizen.

In this interpretation the state is not a state which grants, administers and is paternalistic, but a state which provides services. The individual, based on his existence as a citizen, possesses the basic rights of personal and political freedom. With this concept as well we are accommodating the international documents that we made part of our legal system in 1976. In the language of the draft constitution, we express this as: the catalogue of basic rights has come to the fore in the Constitution, as the first or second chapter, and by all means will be before the chapter that regulates the state organization.

I believe that the several-decade dilemma and lack of success concerning the separation of the party and the state can be successfully resolved in the system of a constitutional power separation, which now is the constitutional institution of parties, and not a one-party political system. The mutual control of the sociopolitical and the state sphere, in other words, a controlled, democratic exercising of power, can take shape.

Esteemed National Assembly, we must examine and assert on four levels in the Constitution the old doctrine of the separation of power, which we interpret in its classical form, solely in the separation and balance of the legislative, the executive, and the judicial power.

The first dimension is power in its general political sense. To what extent is there a place for such an interpretation in the Constitution? If we accept that the Constitution is the country's basic law, and if with this we accept that for a consensus we have in general to create agreement and cooperation between the interests which are differentiated in many ways—between the social strata, groups, and organizations that from these interests hold abstract political concepts and convictions; between the people who strive to assert their rights to life, to freedom, and to pursuing happiness—then it is necessary to ensure for every political force the possibility to function, and on the other hand they can function only provided they do not violate others' rights and freedom.

However, with regard to this, it is necessary to restrict for everyone the assertion of political interest and the striving for power. Thus, the restriction can be raised, not solely in the form that no political party or organization—which by the way might presumably try to realize goals worthy of esteem—can obtain a privileged place in the Constitution, but more is at issue here.

The concept can be found among the regulatory principles, according to which, I quote: No state organization, or no organization or member of society, may pursue any activity that is directed at an exclusive or forceful gaining of power, or possession thereof. So much for the quote. I again quote: Everyone is entitled, and also obligated, to take action against such strivings. Thus, the quoted text mentions this striving.

Allow me to stop here for a moment. Since the regulatory principles have been made public, I have heard and seen in writing several times that a restriction on striving for exclusive power, on the one hand, is incorrect in principle, seeing that in the final analysis every political force wants the fullest possible power. On the other hand, this restriction could not work anyway in practice, since it would obligate any kind of political force, even the one that is ruling, to form a coalition, even if it were able to rule on its own. I believe that this interpretation covers a gross misunderstanding. A ban on striving for exclusive power means that no political organization can bypass or suspend the operation of the constitutional institutions. It cannot exercise power directly; it cannot strive to dissolve other political organizations or social groups represented by such organizations, indeed, nor to restrict them, beyond asserting the principles contained in the Constitution.

The lessons of our history, including the events of the recent past, give thorough ground for our view that it is not enough to eliminate positive discrimination. It is not enough to represent political pluralism in the form of principles. There is a need for a principled ban on the concentration of power, indeed, on taking the wrong path that leads there. There is a need for a ban on violent conduct, and what is more, for proclaiming such actions to be crimes. This is in the defense of the constitution and all of society, of all of us and our progeny.

Another brief explanation is necessary. The right and obligation to take action against endeavors to gain exclusive power, to gain and maintain power by force, can be traced back, in Hungarian constitutional development, even to the famous 31st clause of the Aranybulla of the year 1222, since there too, certain strata of society became entitled to take legal action, which was therefore not a crime, against power that violated the law. It may be the case that the principle of legal restriction of power had already appeared elsewhere in Europe at that time, but contemporary law did not acknowledge the system of rights and guarantees, which was taking form by means of a penal code, and which with its own automatic character would have made unnecessary the right to resist and contradict in such cases.

However, the structure of a constitutional legal state makes precisely the right to resist unnecessary and infeasible. That is why it is necessary to safeguard the Constitution with penal code elements, and thus, by ensuring that anticonstitutional endeavors are prevented, to keep within legal frameworks the rights and obligations pertaining to action against illegal conduct by any power.

The other dimension in the division of power is the separation and balance of the bodies of state power, along the line of their functional delineation. We have already said much about this, and the regulatory principles are clear. In connection with this, allow me, nevertheless, to quote a sentence that James Madison, one of the authors of the U.S. Constitution, said in 1788: for lasting purposes, the jurisdiction of various offices should be established so that each one should be able to keep the other in rein. Departing from this, nearly 200 years later, Warren Burger, head of the U.S. Supreme Court, said that the state organization was intentionally constructed so that its system of operation should lead—and I quote—to conflicts, disturbances, and disharmony. Without doubt, such a state organizational structure is less suited so that one sole policy, even if it is well defined, should prevail, without regard to everything else. Nearly every U.S. President who wished to assert some kind of consciously shaped economic or social

policy, to this very day, has complained because of restriction on his power. This virtually confirms the saying that the government structure set up to restrain would-be despots inevitably hampers the people's elected, democratic leaders, as well.

However, there is a question: Did the monolithic state organization, built on a unity of power, ever work without conflicts, disturbances, and disharmony? Is it possible to operate the state organization with a rationality that accords with the organizational principles of the post office or the big banks? Another question: Is it possible to conduct a policy that shapes the most perfect society and economy attainable by man, without dysfunctional consequences, if, penetrating into the medium of differing interests, cultural variations, convictions, and opinions, and if, without the system of checks and balances that enable the expression of these, it appears in the implementation of a power structure that lacks all differentiation? What awaits individuals and their rights amid such circumstances?

The principle of separation and balance of the branches of power, which unfortunately in our country and region have basically never been completely asserted, thus cannot be rooted in our political culture either, but can all the more be found in the writings of some of our outstanding political thinkers and entails a technical solution which must at all costs be asserted so that rights and obligations can be asserted. [passage omitted]

For a constitutionally operating state the division of the branches of state power, legislature, executive, and judiciary, and the ensuring of their balance is indispensable. The regulatory principles assert this consistently.

Little is said about the third dimension of the division of power. Although the balance and division of the three branches of power is indispensable, however, to avert the danger of a concentration of power, as the assertion of the consequences of political pluralism—which is not a slogan but is always a real situation even if we do not always acknowledge its existence—and from the viewpoint of the legal rights of the individual, it is important to develop a system of checks and balances within the individual branches of power and also to guarantee this in the structural composition of the branches of power.

The regulatory principles—maybe not as consistently as we would like, for there are still alternatives appearing here—also contain the requirements deriving from this dimension.

Here are a few examples: the legislature, the National Assembly, although it is the trustee of the sovereignty of the people, and its licenses deriving from this make our state organization very close to parliamentarism, is still restricted in its power in three respects. First, the institution of referendum; second, a president of the republic who is chosen by the people; third, the constitutional court can also examine the laws from the viewpoint of constitutionality.

In its inner workings it arises as a further aspect that there must be guarantees that it should not have too much power, mainly that the expression of the rights and political views of the parliamentary minority, as well as the sections and groups of the population represented by it, can be ensured so that the majority principle should not be able to lead to abuses in practice. This is why the idea of a two-chamber National Assembly arose. [passage omitted]

The principle of checks and balances, even if the organizational form and content may vary, expresses a profound political wisdom for the long term, here in Hungary too. We also have to think about unforeseen situations. [passage omitted]

The second chamber can be formed in several ways. The only requirement is that its members should not take their places on the basis of principles valid for the election of the first chamber. Thus, with the precise delineation of rights, ensuring at all costs that the power to decide on matters lies with the first chamber, many centuries of political wisdom can also be expressed during the course of our constitutionalizing.

However, the division of power in the case of the executive power must also be guaranteed. The regulatory principles take an unequivocal stand for the position of a president of the republic, and this does not perhaps have to be justified too much today.

I would draw attention to the fact only that the institution of the Presidential Council is not only alien to Hungarian law—ultimately we are not building, and the constitution under preparation does not build, exclusively on the institutions appearing in the development of Hungarian law—but also alien was the function it performed until the most recent times, and, what is more, it was dangerous, facilitating to no slight degree by its mere existence the functioning of an authoritarian system. Let us not forget, the Presidential Council's sphere of influence was that of substituting for the National Assembly. If there was some reason for its collective nature, this could be it: that it should not be an executive system manifested in a one-person head of state which gets into the position of the legislature.

I have already referred to the fact that a president of the republic elected by the population, with its own legitimacy thus founded, can to a certain extent signify a curb to parliamentary power. However, as there is a need for a curb in one respect, in the same way this also is needed in the other. [passage omitted]

The president of the republic naturally cannot be a protocol position in this case, but the government is of the opinion that it is not this type of presidential institution that is needed anyway. By the way, apart from its possible outline, the president of the republic would designate the prime minister, who would be responsible to the National Assembly; thus the National Assembly could elect him. The prime minister would present the members of his government, whose appointment would simply be approved by the parliament with the acceptance of the government program. The president of the republic would appoint the judges, with the exception of the members of the constitutional court and chairman, perhaps deputy chairmen, of the constitutional court, who would be chosen by the National Assembly. The president would appoint the generals of the armed forces and he would be the commander-in-chief of the army, too.

Executive power would to a certain degree be divided between the government and the president of the republic, in such a manner, however, that administration should be responsibly performed by the government. Thus, the direction of public administrative activity would not fall on the president of the republic.

In this third dimension of the division of power also crops up the inner division of judicial power. A certain division will at any rate evolve, because the constitutional court does not belong to the organized system of ordinary courts. And in certain cases, once he has exhausted his possibilities before an ordinary court, the citizen could also turn to the constitutional court for a remedy to the violation of his fundamental rights as enshrined in the constitution. The possibility, however, should be guaranteed only in an exactly circumscribed way, for the security of judicial judgment and the prestige of the force of law are all concepts to be safeguarded. However, the further division of power within the judiciary could be realized through the attorney organization. [passage omitted]

The attorney activity, therefore, is emphasized at all events in connection with the judicature, either, in a certain sphere, in supervision over the (?investigative authorities) or in indictment representation. The question is, with organizational structure can the performance of tasks connected with this best be guaranteed? The regulatory principles contain several variants. Of these I would mention two. The first is the supreme prosecutor, elected by the National Assembly, and the attorney organization evolved beneath him, which would, on the other hand, be smaller than the present one, and which would work independently, on centralized instructions. The other solution would be to have the attorney organization integrated into the judicial organization, with two more possible solutions. According to the one, the supreme prosecutor would be appointed by the president of the republic and would perform his function under the supervision of the justice minister, keeping him organizationally separate from the courts. On the basis of the other solution, the supreme prosecutor would be appointed by the president of the republic or the government, and he would be one of the state secretaries of the Justice Ministry or one of the deputies of the minister.

There are arguments for and against both, and the debates are still going on. I do not propose that parliament now decide this. The most expedient version should be evolved through further professional debate. I would draw attention merely to the fact that in this field we must guarantee the logic of the constitution and, deriving from this, a certain variation in the internal power division—in such a way, however, that the independence of the judge should not be impaired.

Finally, the fourth dimension of power sharing is the power of self-government. The real operation of local and regional self-government is particularly important in our country, also for historical reasons. Let me here quote Jozsef Eoetvoes [19th century author], who saw in self-governments a serious political force and the possibility of guaranteeing autonomy. He says that to limit state power, it must also be ensured that the individual does not stand in isolation before the power of the state. Therefore, the only means of defense against the almightiness of the state, in our age, is the same as that which served for centuries as a shield against every kind of unlimited rule, to wit, that a certain scope for independent activity should be given to the village, the province, and in general the state organizations that link the individual to the state. Thereby, in practice, solid borders should be set to the power of the state. End quote.

Our history, and within that our political system, has evolved in such a way that Jozsef Eotvos' lines, which as a matter of fact were written after the defeat of the War of Independence, are on the one hand still topical today, and on the other, represent traditions on which we can safely build—the self-governments that have functioned for centuries, being indeed a part of the development of the Hungarian Constitution.

I would like to stress that although the regulatory principles submitted do not contain this as yet, the Constitution must deal with self-governments in a separate chapter, including not merely the local and regional, but also the various organizational self-governments, taking as the point of departure that every form of self-government is the self-government of the population, and that the economic conditions of real self-government must also be guaranteed constitutionally.

Esteemed National Assembly, the regulatory principles desire to assert, in the constitution as a whole, the above argued logic of the division of power and the separation of the branches of state power. I therefore request your agreement on this, and ask you to evaluate the various solutions, state organizational forms, and their variants departing from this logic.

Finally, what does the government ask of the National Assembly? Above all an objective debate, since in any case there are many different moods, emotions, passions, as well as intolerance, in our political life. We request, further, that a direction should emerge from the objective debate. Not that you should choose between the various alternatives submitted, with a vote for or against; naturally we do not wish to limit the activity and decision of the esteemed house in any way. Naturally, nor do we want the submission to limit your taking part with new proposals and ideas in the work of drafting a new constitution. However, we think that the time for decision has not yet arrived, with special regard to the debate now unfolding about the regulatory principles. On the other hand, we would consider it very important that, in the National Assembly debate, at least with regard to the logic, structure, basic principles, and some already now apparently crystallizing solutions to the constitution as a whole, the basic lines of the National Assembly's probable standpoint should emerge, so that in the work of drafting the text we can build on this with attention. I have in mind questions such as these: Should there be a separate chapter about the character of society, the economy, the political system, or would it be sufficient, as I would propose, to lay down certain fundamental principles in the constitution? [passage omitted]

However, I stress once again that we are not asking for a decision; at most only that the debate should give a certain prominence to these issues.

However, there are topics where the debate must be left quite open, and in my opinion, right until a referendum is held on the constitution as a whole, or possibly separately on these problems. I beleive one such example is the question of state form. The various descriptions, in practice, in their professional content, if I may put it like that, essentially mean the same thing. In the course of choosing, therefore, political and emotional motives are relevant and we should leave this to the population.

The situation is the same in the case of the national symbols, especially the coat of arms. The picture is clear heraldically: that is, from a professional viewpoint the most acceptable solution would be the coat of arms with the crown. This coat of arms—to avoid any possible misunderstandings let me stress this here and now again—has not been the symbol of the kingdom since the 13th century; it was the symbol of the state instead. Andrew II, for instance, was made to swear an oath by the church to the effect that he was going to preserve intact the rights of the monarchy and the honor of the crown. By monarchy they meant the country. This stance is even clearer from the 14th century onward.

Let me cite as an example the law of 1386 by the Hungarian estates of the realm according to which, I quote: Let us bear in mind the interest of the country and the holy crown, mutual as they are, and even if his majesty the king wants to act against it, let us oppose him and make the action impossible. Or, while King Zsigmond was detained, judging from the seal used, the country's affairs were run in the name of the Holy Crown of Hungary. At the time Chancellor Janos Kanizsai referred to himself as the chancellor of the Hungarian Kingdom's Holy Crown. After this [word indistinct] they called themselves the adherents of the Holy Crown of Hungary. I could continue with examples, but this much is enough to illustrate the early difference between the crown and the monarchy.

In addition to the professional, that is heraldic, arguments over choosing a coat of arms, there are also political and emotional motives. This is why the entire nation has to come to a decision regarding this issue as well.

Esteemed National Assembly, I have reached the end of my preliminary speech. The government wanted to honor the rightful demand of the National Assembly, that is, that there should be an opportunity for debating the most basic principles of the Constitution at last, thus starting a widespread debate on our Constitution, exceeding the parliament itself, involving all the nation in the process of the creation of the Constitution.

There is also a need to modify the organizational framework of the future debate and work, presumably at least in order to make the creation of the Constitution into a mission of each and every political force. The National Assembly and the deputies are going to play a central part in this process anyway, which—let me stress this once again—can significantly contribute to, or become the basis of, a national consensus; an ultimate unity which is unavoidably necessary for the future of the nation.

Thank you for your attention.

Nemeth Addresses Assembly

LD0903101589 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0800 GMT 9 Mar 89

[Address by Premier Miklos Nemeth to National Assembly session in Budapest—live]

[Text] Esteemed National Assembly, I think it is not an exaggeration to say that the National Assembly debate on the regulatory principles of the new constitution is a truly historical event. This debate is the start of constitutionalizing, and is also an important stage in this process. The traditional social organizations, the churches, the alternative organizations, and other political organizations are participating in the debate. This continues to be necessary because the Constitution is a document of such importance that we must obtain the agreement of every social force capable of an opinion.

In the debate many questions relating to the conception and to the details of regulation have also arisen. In my opinion this also proves that the conception submitted possesses the orientating force on the basis of which the working out of the first text version of the new constitution can begin.

It well indicates the pace and direction of the change of conditions in our society, that while today almost no one disputes that it is not the amendment to the old Constitution that is needed, but the working out of a new constitution. In the spring of 1988 several people did dispute this. Today, also, no one disputes that constitutionalizing is the concern of the whole Hungarian nation, no single organization or group can appropriate this. The people must not be a co-author, but an autonomous creator of our new statute.

It does not have to be proved today that the social, economic, and political order that developed in 1949, whose legal representation was the 1949 Constitution, is no longer a suitable framework for our closing the gap to the modern, industrial world. So, changing the model of socialism is unavoidable.

Let us formulate unambiguously: the bureaucratic, overcentralized, building of a state socialist society, the model of the party state, has reached a dead end. It has proved to be incapable of development and a brake to modernization. It is obvious that its correction is in itself not enough; it can only have fragile, historically short-lived results, and the sword of Damocles, of restoring the old order, is suspended continually over the heads of the reformers.

But, it is not a need for the restoration of capitalism that follows from the failure of the model, but that a new political era must be opened. We must return to the original basic values of socialism, to the developing, creative personality, ready for and capable of renewal and to truly functioning self-governing organizations. We must realize the social supervision of the exercise of power.

In this sense too, we must draw a sharp line between ourselves and our past, without denying the values of our historical past. The recognition is characteristic now of an increasing number of socialist countries that in their hitherto practice, democracy operated very impotently. It is an almost general opinion that true democracy is an indispensable element of socialism with a human face and center. Ever fewer people are disputing that for the development of democracy in the socialist countries, extensive legislative work, the development of the legal guarantees of socialism, is needed.

However, what we Hungarians almost unanimously consider indispensable is the institutionalized political expression of democracy, pluralism, that is, various interests. I do not consider it significant, a dividing line if you like, whether there is an adjective in front of democracy or not because a generally recognized democratic model does not exist. There are, however, democratic fundamental principles, representing the heritage of universal human development, which (?are to be) asserted in an individual way in the given social system, in the medium of the given cultural and historical traditions. This must also be true in our democracy.

The essence is that the democratic principles should closely link the power guided by socialist ideals and society, and that the political system based on democratic principles should also be operable. It cannot be decided, with general validity, how this can operate at all, or in the best manner possible. However, this must be attempted in some form.

At present, the majority of society's groups with political force, on the basis of their past experiences, their current endeavors, and their views of the future, see the guarantee of democracy to lie in the multiparty system. Thus, let us create the conditions for this, but with responsibility, and with a sense of mission [elhivatottan]. We should not be especially proud or ashamed about treading our own path.

It is not now necessary to direct our strength toward making explanations or defensive activity, because now no one disputes that everyone has the right to choose his own path. Therefore, let us concentrate our energy on building this path and making it possible to tread it. We should defuse, but not detonate, the time bombs left from the past. Because there are such things, since there were crimes, and victims of these crimes, albeit with delay, we will rehabilitate them, by immediately availing ourselves of the historical opportunity.

The disclosure of the facts, their compilation and their qualification, require a historian's thoroughness, a just assessment, objectivity, perspective, in an approach and evaluation that is free of emotion and passion. This is an extremely time-consuming task. We want to make amends, not seek those on whom it is possible to take vengeance. We have undertaken rehabilitation, not criminal investigation. We want to heal existing wounds, not tear them open. If we want national solidarity and concensus we cannot do anything else.

Esteemed house, if I referred above to the fact that our 1949 Constitution was the product of the social-political conditions of the time, the question rightly arises: At present, what kinds of conditions are giving birth to our new constituiton? Naturally, we cannot rely on—what, by the way, never were—stable, consolidated political conditions. We can nevertheless expect to have a constitution that endures time, because it is propped by stable values and lays the foundations for a comprehensive turnaround in the direction of a state system created and controlled by society.

Many people ask: Is the main task in this homeland of ours really to create a new constitution, to create the legal guarantees, at a time when the economy is sick, when the living standard is decreasing and the people's state of health is deteriorating, while education, culture and learning are being devalued? In spite of this, my answer is a resolute "yes," because we have experienced that without legal guarantees there is no democracy, without a democracy there is no constitutionality, and without a constitutional order there is no basis for economic development. If the economy does not develop, there will be no basis or resources for society's material, intellectual, cultural, and moral uplifting. Knowing this, we can accept it as justified that at present and temporarily, the reform of the system of political institutions, after a lag of a decade, has taken precedence over the economic reforms. This, however, is only temporary. In their trend, the two must progress together; their lasting separation could lead to a rupture. It is necessary, with perservering and patient work, to endeavor for a synchrony, so that the lack of a harmony should not generate a self-endangering radicalism, neither on the part of those who want to hurry, nor on the part of those who tend to react to the dissolution of the old frameworks by making order, by a policy of an iron fist.

We want to raise our country up to European standards. We know that the difference in level is large, and that this can happen only gradually. For there to be a successful transition, it is necessary at every step to find a stable buttress so we do not regress. It is necessary to determine the pace of progress in a manner so that those for whom it is worthwhile to advance in the first place are able to follow us because our buttress is in our followers, and only few people follow extremes. Strength is only in the center and the center must be organized around the reform.

The government wants this, and my term for this is: reform-center.

Esteemed house, the fate of our new model of Hungarian socialism, the chance for a consolidated transition leading there, like every significant step in our 1,000-year history, also depends on the development of international conditions. The circumstances on the periphery are favorable at present. In the socialist countries, the reform positions are gaining strength, the recognition of the necessity for a model change and the preparation for a changeover are gaining strength. Our new constitution fits into this process.

It is no accident that Western Europe also welcomes this step, which it views as an important building block in laying the foundations for a common European house. This is not without grounds, since the new constitution is not only the free frontier of socialist constitution-development, it is not only the expression of 1,000-year statehood, it is not only the acceptance of the Hungarian progressives' ideas concerning constitutional law, but it is an undertaking which can propel us, again, into the vanguard of European development. But this can happen only if we are not afraid of the sharp conflicts that necessarily arise and if, with a patient, cooperative attitude, we seek their solutions. That is the security for a transition that can realize the reforms.

We must progress on the path of reforms in a manner so that, in the relationship of power and society, it is not paralyzing confrontation, but cooperation, which is determining. Let us not forget that in the 1,000-year Hungarian history economy- and society-building was always successful only when we trod the path of reforms, when the reforms were guided by a strong government that enjoyed society's support. A power which is swept around has always led to discord, to disintegration, to anarchy. The autocratic system has not been successful, either.

The secret of the success of the Hungarian reform periods has rested in the fact that the strong government, centrally guiding the process, has cooperated with the social strata bearing the reform processes. In the current situation, the basis for a model-change cannot be one or two classes, or social strata. The social basis for the targeted model, for the transition leading to it, cannot be the same as what we relied on to date. We are carrying out property reform, and we pursue a policy that encourages enterprise. It follows from this that the new base is the totality of people, organizations that are ready and able to be enterprising, all those who, in such an order, see a possibility for asserting themselves and for a secure existence. If the interest of this base rests in the growth of its performance, by this it also creates the resources with which a wide-ranging social security can be ensured and those in need can be assisted.

I trust that in the character in the transition, and in the content of the new model, an agreement can be shaped in society and between the essential performers in public politics. We ought to reach agreement in the necessity for a socialist society with a human face, which is pro-community and pro-environment, and which, at the same time, lays with an effective economy, the foundations for social well-being. We ought to reach agreement in the building of a democracy that develops such a society and gives dynamism for a model-change, in the assertion of our national values; in the safeguarding of the universal interests of mankind; in the system of relations of equal and sovereign states, that encompass the world; in the acceptance of our responsibility felt for our historical past, for our 1,000-year statehood and for universal Magyardom; in the shaping of a political system which eliminates all autocracy, every exclusive form of the exercising of power.

To create social consensus, the new constitution undoubtedly must contain the detailed regulation of human and citizens' rights as well as citizens' obligations; the incorporation in our country's legal system of the international agreements concerning basic human-citizens' rights; the

wide-ranging development and strengthening of self-government and autonomy, not only according to a regional principle, but also in the case of professional and vocational self-management; and the development of a wide-ranging network of collectives, partnerships, and ventures, which collaborate in regional development, in the nurturing of architectural and environmental assets, in resolving welfare problems, in enriching cultural values. The state should not be paternalistic to society [a tarsadalom gyamja], nor should it have a night watchman as a secondary role in society. It should be a central organizing force, or if you like a manager, whose tasks on the one hand are: the developing of conditions of economic activity in which capital yields profit and from this the costs of reproduction on an increasing scale, expenditures for humane purposes and the state apparatus can be covered. The state budget only returned profit to the extent that it moderated the social inequality of chances, and maintained the state organization. Also, organizing that society should itself decisively satisfy its own demands and needs. The state should give wide scope for the functioning of various forms of property, associations, self-governing, societies, and foundations.

Thirdly, the most important state decisions should be contained in the laws created in the national Assembly. The laws must be obligatory not just for citizens, but for the state and for its organs.

Esteemed Deputies, in the atmosphere of political battles, dialogue, and debate between parties and the various political organizations, the obligation of the government is the ordered operating of the basic governmental functions on a central level and also on the various levels of public administration. It is here that the government wishes to make the functioning of the army and the interior organs independent from the daily political fluctuations. The government strives for these to be lasting, stable institutions, for the national security forces and forces of state integration to be based on the foundations of constitutionality and the law. The process of constitutionalizing can only be successful in the medium of the assertion of constitutionality, legality.

People now demand two things: a democratic society, and external and internal peace. The government considers as its task the ensuring of calm, balanced conditions for the process of constitutionalizing. If political public life is ruled by a competition of slogans of political parties, then the process of constitutionalizing can easily reach a dead end. This can easily happen if the multi-party system comes about in an artificial way, and the positions of power are distributed behind the backs of the people, and if it is not developed gradually, genuinely, on the basis of real endeavors for interest assertion.

So, the development of strong, social, and political organization around the reform center is very important. Only in this way can it be avoided that our bad public life tradition, emotional, passionate overheatedness put our (?general) political situation into disarray.

Esteemed house, it cannot be disputed that the Western democracies have accumulated a huge mass of experiences in the historical struggles for the practical usage of democratic fundamental principles. This is a treasure trove for everyone who wishes to learn, but who also wish to avoid the traps of the mistakes already made. In this sense, it is with reason that we also turn toward the Western democracies, but not to copy any kind of model. True, there are those who instead of suffering in finding their own solutions, they see it as easier to adopt a ready-made case. I say that they are mistaken. We always erred, sometimes greatly, tragically, when we copied an external model in a slavish way. We have our own order of values, but not all of our values can have an internal source. We must accept and incoporate into the organism of our society the values that have been demonstrated in the outside world. Let us not fear this, for a healthy organism accepts and assimilates what can be useful to it, and rejects what is alien to the body. We will stay Hungarians even if the life-giving fluids of all the peoples of Europe are already circulating in our blood and organism. We have our own history, our own national awareness, our own particular character, and we wish to construct our own Hungarian model. We have tragically acquired experiences for it, materials for building, in which we have already used our variant, no less than that of stonemason Kelemen [referring to the ballad about a stonemason who walled up his wife].

So, the house will stand if we place the stones of pacification with a common will and solidarity, with each other. The new constitution can be the ceremonial laying of the foundation stone, and that which we formulate in it should be not just a document speaking about ourselves today, but valid for a long time, forward-looking and pointing, a real fundamental law of this people's country-building activity, fate, and human life.

We have to set exacting demands with regard to the work of constitution-making and legislation, and generally the reform of the system of political institutions, but we must not nourish illusions. Our society's system of operation, the way democracy and openness function, what the decision mechanism is like, whether social control is strong—these things may influence the place we occupy in the world, but will not do so decisvely. Our place in the economic-strength league of the nations is, therefore, basically determined not by us, or not by us alone. The small countries and those that are not strong, if they want to struggle by themselves, will sink. Their only chance of survival and advance is if they link their destiny with the forces that set the direction and rate of progress. But we cannot get onto the flagship as stowaways. We have to buy our ticket. We can only purchase that with a European legal order, with democracy, by being educated, cultured, by casting off a few former forms of social conduct, by displaying a spirit of give-and-take. I trust that our National Assembly, our society, our national and local organizations, our politicians and the men in the street, will, in the course of the social debates and political struggles, link their talons to form

the political capital with which this ticket may be purchased. Esteemed National Assembly, on behalf of the Central Committee and the Council of Ministers, in the token of these thoughts I support my proposal relating to the regulatory principles of Hungary's constitution. Thank you for your attention.

Nemeth Denies Nagymaros Barrage Project Halted

LD0903195489 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 9 Mar 89

[Excerpts] [Presenter] My colleague, Henrik Habas, has arrived here in the studio with a piece of fresh news. About 30 minutes ago we received a telephone call from Vienna, and according to the caller, REUTER news agency announced that the Hungarian head of government had declared a halt to work on the Nagymaros water barrage.

I telephoned Miklos Szanto, director general of OVIBER [construction firm in charge of the Nagymaros project]. [passage omitted] The news has spread in Vienna—confirmed by REUTER—that Premier Miklos Nemeth announced that the Nagymaros construction work would be stopped. Miklos, what do you know about this?

[Szanto] I have heard nothing about it. [passage omitted]

[Presenter] I spoke this afternoon to Gyorgy Marosan, government spokesman, and he knew nothing.

[Szanto] Well, when somebody informs me that it is true, then that person will do so; such communication has its legal forms. There are legal regulations in Hungary regarding the halting of the project, and I don't think that any of these has been invalidated. [passage omitted]

[Presenter] On learning about the REUTER report, I immediately called Miklos Nemeth at the National Assembly debating hall. What does the chairman of the government have to say about this issue?

[Begin Nemeth recording] I heard this news with surprise. We may be talking about some kind of fatal misunderstanding, a misinterpretation or distortion of what I have said. The essence of what I announced yesterday in the parliament is as follows: First, the government, on the basis of authorization by the National Assembly, is continuously examining all the budgetary, investment, environmental, water quality, and ecological issues related to the work: the government and parliament even asked for certain supervisory social committees. These are operating and we are relying on their experiences.

Second, in view of the magnanimity of the issue, and the fact that over 100,000 signatures were recently handed to the parliament speaker initiating a popular referendum, I announced, on behalf of the government, that the government is ready to examine the material, legal, international, and political consequences of a potential popular referendum relating to the project, and I also announced that we would give a report to the National Assembly on the results of the examinationn—in which we involve the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, scientific organs, institutions, movements, and social organs—at an appropriate time, together with the draft bill on the popular referendum, probably at the end of May or the beginning of June.

I would like to assure Miklos Szanto that no such statement to the effect that we had halted the Boes-Nagymaros investment project has been made by myself or responsible government staff. There are valid contracts; work continues. The issue to which the deputies have drawn our attention—in view of this two-pointed statement—is that as far as possible work should be carried out at a rate which does not make the processes irreversible. [end recording]

Grosz Interviewed by TANJUG on Cooperation

AU0703155189 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 27 Feb 89 p 3-4

[Unattributed report on interview given by MSZMP General Secretary Karoly Grosz to TANJUG: "We Are Seeking Efficient Cooperation in All Areas—Karoly Grosz' Interview to TANJUG"—in Budapest, on 22 February]

[Text] Karoly Grosz, who is paying a working visit to Yugoslavia today, gave an interview within the framework of an informal discussion with TANJUG Director Mihailo Saranovic and Srdjan Basic, TANJUG correspondent in Budapest, held in Karoly Grosz' office at the Central Committee Headquarters in Budapest on 22 February. As the report says, Karoly Grosz did not use notes during the open and cordial discussion, and answered all the questions.

A Multiparty System

"The introduction of a multiparty system in Hungary is a new venture, but it is not a historic event"—Karoly Grosz pointed out. "A multiparty system in itself does not guarantee that mistakes which have serious consequences for society will not occur. However, it is true that the chances of repeating these mistakes will be smaller if the parties control each other from a competitive position and if the debate is carried out publicly. Real guarantees have not been achieved anywhere in the world, nor in Hungary"—Karoly Grosz added. Neither Eastern nor Western Europe has solved this question. However, it is possible to build some guarantees into the system. One of the most important guarantees is respect for the law. We need a mechanism in which there will be neither legal omissions nor overregulation. This means that the citizens, and the state, are aware of their rights and obligations. "I see another guarantee in social publicity, namely, that things should not occur without the people's knowledge"—Karoly Grosz continued. "The

third guarantee lies in the selection of leaders. Unfortunately, quite characteristically, earlier this was based on subjective relations. We must reach the point at which the leaders are selected in open political competition. Thus, confidence in these leaders will grow and their social influence will also increase. Together, all these things are considerable guarantees which are not perfect, but I think they will be better than the current guarantees. Therefore, we should accept all these things.

"No party can ever give up its leading role"—Karoly Grosz pointed out, in answer to a question on whether the MSZMP is deliberately sharing some power with others by initiating a multiparty system. "Whether it succeeds in implementing this goal is another question. The MSZMP leadership, and I hope its members too, think that the party is able to preserve its leading role. At the same time, the MSZMP does not want to maintain a monopoly in exercising power, but, along with preserving its leading role, it also intends to include others in exercising this power. There is already an example for this: The president of the Presidential Council, the minister of Education and Culture, and the state secretary of the Planning Office are non-party members, something inconceivable in the past. Thus, we can already witness power sharing, but not yet to the desirable extent."

Changing Image of Socialism

"We will mention socialism in the introduction of our new constitution, but our socialist endeavors will derive from the spirit of the entire constitution, rather than from a single declaration. We want a socialist state, but there is no socialism in Hungary yet. Thus, this is a goal for us, and not an existing achievement.

"The image of socialism is changing and, in my view, there are two reasons for this. One is that free-thinking people no longer accept a simplified concept of socialism, a concept that has so long prevailed in the Soviet Union. The second reason, and this is a great tragedy of socialism, is that modern institutions that could have put socialist efforts into practice did not emerge to serve our socialist ideals. Although it is a secondary issue, I will nevertheless mention that the great number of mediocre people who exercised power in the name of socialism, and thus compromised the idea of socialism, represented a great burden on socialism.

"At present, it is impossible to draw up an image of socialism that is valid for all countries. However, it is possible to draw a few lines that separate socialism as a system of ideas from any other system. Although it is not certain that everyone agrees with me, I would mention here the fact that socialism is a mixed-property society in which state, cooperative, and private property are all present, but in which state and cooperative property make up the majority. A similar fundamental phenomenon is, in my view, the fact that socialism eliminates inequalities in the people's opportunities.

"I consider extremely important the fact that, in addition to freely developing individual abilities, socialism also makes use of the values inherent in the community. Socialism does not make these different factors confront each other, but connects the individual and community prosperity. Yugoslavia has great historical experiences in this.

"I also consider it characteristic of socialism that performance principles should prevail in achievements and in distribution, and, along with this, society must bear greater burdens in eliminating social differences. Our great problem is that remuneration for work and social requirements get mixed up and the borders between the two are fading away, while these two factors should be separated."

Imre Nagy and 1956

Karoly Grosz was asked about the recent Central Committee meeting which also discussed the nature of the 1956 events, and about the government decision according to which the protagonists of the later court trial could rest in marked graves.

In his reply, Karoly Grosz pointed out that the burial of Imre Nagy and of his close associates was justified from humanitarian considerations. After 30 years, it is the basic obligation of a socialist regime to bury the remains of Imre Nagy under proper circumstances, without evaluating the deceased. This is not a political rehabilitation, but a humane gesture due to every person. If a historical review of the events is justified, then, of course, we have to examine the circumstances under which Imre Nagy was convicted. If previously unknown facts emerge during such an examination, facts that would justify a rehabilitation, then we also have to consider these facts, Karoly Grosz pointed out. "However, the burial does not reflect this. We will carry out a scientific and legal analysis of every document related to the events of this era. If a scientific review requires political conclusions, we will, of course, formulate such conclusions too."

Karoly Grosz said that, in his view, the current evaluation of the 1956 events is nothing other than a correction of the distorted evaluation of the last 30 years. "I reject the claim of the Western press according to which a compromise in principles emerged at the MSZMP Central Committee session of 10-11 February. This is, in fact, a correction of a previous unilateral attitude (namely, that we are only talking about a counterrevolution—a TANJUG observation). This is the truth." (Namely, that a popular uprising broke out which later increasingly turned into a counterrevolution, added the Yugoslav reporter.)

The Components of Reform

Karoly Grosz does not agree with the claims that the economic reform has lost its momentum. This reform started 20 years ago. "One of the reasons for our current

difficulties is that the political reform did not even start, the economy was at its bottom limit between 1982 and 1983, the leaders were concentrating on solving everyday tasks, and there was a delay in working out a concept. Our economic reform continues to advance adequately, and the recent Central Committee session proves this, a session which took upon itself to modernize and renew our agricultural policy. The new banking system introduced 2 years ago has also stood the test of time, and the new tax system and the law on economic associations are also great achievements; the Parliament will soon adopt a law on protecting foreign investments. An anti-inflationary program, as well as an economic mechanism that will adjust to the world market are currently being worked out. In accordance with our possibilities, our economic reform is advancing with great steps.

"However, there are also obstacles hindering this progress, like our huge debts (a gross sum of almost $18 billion, the Yugoslav reporter points out), and the narrow scope of our economy. At the same time, political changes have accelerated in Hungary, because, in this area, we have to overcome subjective obstacles, rather than objective ones. As for the tasks we are taking upon ourselves, this is a matter of political wisdom, determination, and courage. It would not be a positive development if the two reform processes separated too much from each other. In my view, the political reform should slightly precede the economic reform, and they should not be separated. A political establishment without financial and economic performance is a worthless establishment. However, there is a third reform too, namely, an ideological reform. This reform has not yet started in practice."

Our Foreign Relations

"Hungary is striving to cooperate with the EEC and every other regional or professional economic organizations. This is valid for both the Far East and Europe. As for the EEC, we cannot go beyond our current trade agreement, not because we do not want to, but because the EEC system cannot accept us. There are practical reasons behind this. The EEC has laid the foundations of the Western European political community. A socialist country is a foreign body in such a political community. Therefore, we are striving for very close economic cooperation, and we are open in searching for conditions and opportunities for more efficient cooperation in all of the areas. To give an example, we are adjusting our standards to those of the EEC, but there are no prospects for more organic relations. I repeat, there are political, and not economic reasons for this. Hungary would not be admitted to the EEC. We have clearly concluded this in Davos. The EEC will become a political community. This will take place in 10 or 20 years. A socialist country cannot take part in this."

"Besides, Hungary needs CEMA. We need a CEMA that works well. Therefore, my proposals were for a CEMA that functions better, and not against it. It would take too long to describe this program proposal. However, its main direction can be described in simple terms. We need much more up-to-date accounting, financial, and pricing systems in CEMA. We should increase the level of production cooperation, and gradually ease the flow of capital and manpower. Many things concerning the current CEMA mechanism based on centrally planned guidance should be reduced to the level of interenterprise cooperation. We should also establish conditions for this. The first element is a convertible currency that makes this cooperation financially possible. We have to develop an adequate system of accounting and institutions. The only path to be followed is to make the common currency convertible. We do not know when the conditions can be created for this; by no means can these conditions be created all at once. Therefore, we are for a partial convertibility in accounting."

In addition to CEMA, the interview also dealt with the Warsaw Pact. Karoly Grosz pointed out: "For a long time to come, we will be unable to say that there are no more Soviet troops stationed in Hungary; but the number of these troops will definitely decrease. A considerable reduction will take place this year and will continue next year. In my view, a complete withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary could be concluded if the U.S. troops also withdraw from Western Europe. These withdrawals do not necessarily have to take place at the same speed, but the trends should be identical.

"As for the situation of national minorities, there are two concepts. One says that, given its nature, socialism will solve the national minority problem. Our experience is different. Therefore, we are for the other solution: Each country's leadership should pay particular attention to guaranteeing the rights of national minorities that live on their territory. The practice is different in various socialist countries, depending on which position they adopt. In my view, the national minority issue will be solved only in the historical long run and as a result of a deliberate and systematic work. The way to achieve this is that the given country should provide all the necessary conditions for the assertion of national minority demands and enable its citizens to have regular and consistent contacts with the mother nation."

Bilateral Cooperation

"I see similarities between Hungary and Yugoslavia primarily in our results and difficulties"—Karoly Grosz continued, speaking about bilateral cooperation. "Our economies are not modern enough and they were late in adjusting to world changes. Our production structures are lagging behind the developed countries, and we have not turned proper attention to intellectual and scientific activities. We have failed in making the individuals interested in achieving greater performance. As far as I know, Yugoslavia has advanced more in this respect. The same is true of our self-governing system and our independent communities.

"The political mechanism prevailing in our southern neighbor has several values that Hungary has just begun creating. Among other things, the differences derive from the fact that, unlike Yugoslavia, Hungary is not a multi-national country, and, in many respects, a multi-national state requires completely different solutions.

"The two countries' political relations are very good indeed, and even exemplary. Our economic cooperation has also greatly increased, contacts between our citizens are quite strong, and I consider this of particular value. It would be desirable to expand our production cooperation. Our trade relations would increase more if we focused on production cooperation."

From his meeting with Stipe Suvar, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, Karoly Grosz expects a thorough mutual discussion of domestic issues as well as a promotion of even more fruitful cooperation.

"Hungary is interested in a more free and open cooperation. We want to continue to have a substantial, good-neighborly relationship with Yugoslavia. We want deepening political, economic, and human relations. It is in our interest that people living along our borders have an even richer and fruitful cooperation. This can also lead to increasing opportunities for mutual cooperation in the international arena and in the international political and economic processes"—Karoly Grosz said in conclusion.

Roundtable Team Members View New Sejm Senate

Reykowski, Geremek Comment

LD0903200989 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 9 Mar 89

[Excerpts] [Presenter] The roundtable team for political reforms met today. [passage omitted] Our reporter asked team participants Reykowski and Geremek to comment:

[Begin recording] [Reykowski] I would like to say something specific about what happened today at our meeting, all the more so since I have heard that some of our viewers are complaining that we are talking too much in generalizations. But it isn't easy to sum up 7 hours of work in 3 minutes. We tackled four issues today: First, because, during the team's deliberations, General Kiszczak and Lech Walesa... [pauses] a new... [pauses] discussion developed on the creation of two important institutions in Poland: the institution of president and a second chamber. We had a preliminary discussion of the tasks that a second chamber would undertake in Poland, and we agreed that the details of the discussion on this subject will be set out in a specially formed working group. We also did a kind of stocktaking of matters that have not been settled. Three more issues were examined. [passage omitted]

[Geremek] [Passage omitted] There is on our side a vision, an idea and a dream of an independent Poland, in which the people define their institutions, elect their representatives in democratic elections. We are convinced that this can be implemented and we have as good as the right to it, when one thinks of the historical fate of the nation, and we are beginning to implement that right at this moment. I have the feeling that those people who are listening to us, and who would like to know what we have achieved, have the right to say that. [passage omitted] To all those who have been true to Solidarity and its dreams, I'd like to say: What will we achieve now? A certain constitutional provision, which at this moment introduces three institutions in the supreme organs of the state, which is—a Sejm elected under a limited democratic principle—that is to say, with the democratic principle curtailed. An upper chamber, a Senate, will be elected in a fully democratic way and, by the decision of both chambers, the supreme office of the republic will be set up: the president. This provision is to guarantee the process of evolution to democracy, to freedom. The fact that we were able to agree on this, that this can be a joint result, is a basis for optimism. [end recording]

4, 18 June Elections Proposed

LD0903230689 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 9 Mar 89

[Text] Principles of the Sejm electoral law, conceptions for setting up a second chamber of parliament, as well as a plan for electing a president were discussed by the roundtable team for political reforms. Commenting on the discussion in that part of the proceedings, Janusz Reykowski pointed out that the team was not a constitutional decisionmaking body. It merely presents various viewpoints, discusses various prospects, and asks state bodies to make changes and determine the extent of reforms in the state. Consequently it would be unrealistic to think that every submitted proposal would be fully expressed in the elaborated compromise.

This statement was supported by Bronislaw Geremek, who noted that the principle role of the team's—as in the old Polish representative assemblies—should be clashes of views rather than voting and making decisions. He also stated that a certain vision of system reforms—which in the form of provisional constitutional arrangements could be acceptable to the Solidarity-opposition side—has appeared.

Speaking at a news conference, Prof Janusz Reykowski reported that today's team session resulted in the setting up of four working parties on the preparation of a bill on associations; on presidential powers and those of the second chamber of parliament; on preparations for draft social contract chapters concerning political changes; and on preparations for a draft Sejm and Senate electoral law. The draft electoral law is to be prepared this Saturday [11 March] and presented to the Solidarity opposition side. On Monday [13 March] it will be reviewed by the appropriate Council of State commission and, if accepted, it will be presented to appropriate Sejm commissions within a week or 2.

Prof Reykowski also reported that, according to preliminary proposals, the elections would take place in two rounds: the first on 4 June, and the second on 18 June. However, in light of some working delays the possibility of postponing the election dates by 1 week is being considered. It is planned that the presidential elections would take place at the first sitting of the joint houses of parliament.

More Geremek Remarks on Election

LD1003020689 Warsaw PAP in English 0025 GMT 10 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 9—While commenting on today's debates of the roundtable team for political reforms, Bronislaw Geremek said during a press conference here today that both sides entered the process with courage and this must be appreciated. These problems made the highlights of the meeting of the opposition-Solidarity side with newsmen led by Janusz Onyszkiewicz.

Geremek went on to say that the acceptance by the opposition-Solidarity side of the principle of non-confrontational parliamentary elections was connected with the package of three issues: elections to the Sejm in line

with the principle of political division of seats, democratic and non-restricted elections to the Senate as the upper house and the setting-up of the office of the president to be jointly elected by the Sejm and the Senate i.e. the National Assembly.

Asked why the priority was given to the ways of electing the Sejm and the Senate instead of defining, first of all, their powers, Geremek stressed that the most important problem is to make that constitutional and systemic reforms lead to full democracy and in this sense the questions of elections and powers of the two bodies are closely interrelated.

Geremek also said that in the opinion of the opposition-Solidarity side the proposed political deal, if it is to be concluded, must be public, open and clear for everybody.

While answering another question, Geremek stressed that in his opinion both sides enter the future elections with risk. The government side—that the elections to the Senate will, however, bear the confrontational character and that they will be a test for the governing coalition, while the opposition-Solidarity side enters the elections with the great risk stemming from the lack of political and organizational experience. "We have got here certain indispensable guarantees and the time will show how much of the chance we have managed to use", he said.

Asked about the territorial self-government, Geremek said also that although the roundtable is not able to pass anything, it is a form of certain social contact. We believe that political and social forces which are present at the roundtable can assume obligations and these obligations should be included in the final declaration, Geremek said.

DPA Reports Agreement

LD0903190589 Hamburg DPA in German 1810 GMT 9 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw (DPA)—Representatives of the government and opposition in Poland today reached agreement in principle on parliamentary elections. The Solidarity spokesman, Janusz Onyszkiewicz, announced this evening that the elections could take place in two ballots on 4 and 18 June. There is to be a two-tier system in future: The Sejm and a second chamber, as yet unnamed, which has the working title "Senate."

In the case of the 460 mandates in the most important chamber, the Sejm, candidates nominated by the 3 parties of the government coalition, social organizations, including Solidarity, or at least 3,000 citizens in each case, could run. A portion of the seats is reserved for the government coalition by means of a "state list."

In the first ballot on 4 June, candidates who receive more than 50 percent of the votes can be elected, as under the French system. In the second ballot on 18 June, mandates that failed to receive an absolute majority of the votes cast in the first ballot will be decided. In this case a relative majority will suffice.

In the case of the second chamber, whose competences have not yet been determined, there is only one ballot. Under existing plans, each of the 49 voivodships will receive 2 mandates, that is, there will be 98 "senators." There is no preferential list for any number of candidates in this case. A majority of votes is decisive. The details are to be worked out before a new session of the political group. It appears that the government has shelved its plans for the creation of a new presidential office. The Sejm and "Senate" may be able to elect the president at a later stage.

Roundtable Political Reform Talks Assessed

LD1003032889

[Editorial Report] Several news conferences were held on 9 March on the proceedings of the roundtable talks on political reforms.

Warsaw PAP in English at 2331 GMT on 9 March transmits a report on a news conference at the OPZZ Headquarters "today" by Jerzy Uzieblo. PAP writes: "Uzieblo described the discussion on political reforms as very fruitful and resulting in a consensus on many issues. The team had decided how the new election law should be constructed. The coalition-government side suggested that each voivodship (province) place two assignees in the higher house of the parliament. Representatives of the Opposition-Solidarity side drew attention to the fact that the provinces are not identical. 'I stated on behalf of the OPZZ, that a proportional system is certainly imperfect but its advantage is that in the time of economy reforming we cannot allow the formation of a lobby in the senate that would represent the industrial branches which should be re-structured,' Uzieblo said. 'We have also seriously discussed the scope of the senate's and president's powers,' he went on. 'This conception has not been accepted by the team despite support from the UPP (Peasants Party), SD (Democratic Party), and one representative of the independent group,' Uzieblo said."

Warsaw PAP in English at 0020 GMT on 10 March transmits a report on the news conference held on 9 March by the spokesman of the Democratic Party Central Committee, Adam Wysocki, on the "stand taken at the debate of the roundtable political team by representatives of the DP in this team Piotr Winczorek." PAP says: "In his statement, Winczorek emphasized that the DP expresses its support as to the basic issues concerning the anticipated systemic and legal solutions which serve the expansion of pluralism in the socio-political life of this country. It is an enjoyable fact that all the sides participating in the debates are unanimous as to such issues as new electoral law, the upper chamber of the

parliament, broader competence of local self-governments and introduction of the presidency. There is a considerable number of issues which require further detailed settlements, but a realistic chance to acheive agreement on the crucial issues is the most important thing, Winczorek said. However, this does not mean that the DP is fully satisfied with the reaching of many common settlements, Winczorek stressed."

Warsaw PAP in English at 0030 GMT on 10 March transmits a report on a news conference held on 9 March at the United Peasants Party Central Committee by Jan Jachymek, UPP representative at the debates of the team for political reforms and director of the "department for Peoples Movement". Jachynmek says: "I think that all of us are aware that we have entered in Poland a transitory period between the old things that are going away and the new things whose shape is still unknown to us". "The point is," Jachymek continues, "that we should pass through this transitory period as smoothly as possible, and that Poland should be spared as many upheavals as one can, which has always been emphasized by outstanding leaders of Peoples Movement. To this leading idea are subordinated various moves including also the concept that the parliamentary majority should be retained by the ruling coalition. However, we must be aware that the oncoming elections will be for the last time controlled to a certain extent. Answering a question whether there have appeared clear divergences between the ruling coalition and the opposition Jachymek said that such clear split does not exist. Moreover, the opinions within the coalition also differ to a certain extent. It is very probable that the office of the president will be introduced. The president would be a kind of a supreme arbiter in various matters, chiefly seeing to it that the development of processes under way in Poland be most conducive to the stability and continuity of the state, stated he. Asked whether the president would be vested with the power to dissolve the Sejm, Jachymek said that the UPP also submitted such proposal, and that he was talking about that at the debate. Naturally, these are only proposals, not some concrete settlements or recordings, added he."

Walesa Sees 'No Threats' to Roundtable Talks

LD0903214189 Warsaw PAP in English
2108 GMT 9 Mar 89

[Text] Gdansk, March 9—Lech Walesa told a news conference at St. Brygida's church here today he could see no threats to the roundtable talks. "We were only prepared to try and get Solidarity while the authorities give more and want more," he said.

Walesa said that all the hitherto accomplishments at the roundtable had been reached not with stones but at the negotiating table. "Today courage lost much in value. So let us outwit each other in wisdom rather than courage (...) we must bear responsibility for Poland as it is. After so many experiences the Poles must understand that they have no choice but to reform Poland," he said.

Asked to comment on strikes, Walesa said the situation in Poland was favourable in that regard in view of the bad condition of the economy. "But it takes wisdom and common sense, society needs a chance to organize itself, to settle all matters in an organized way, to understand what is really important to Poland today," he said.

Walesa referred on many occassions to methods with which to struggle for reforms. "The arguments behind me are wise and, within what is possible, marked by common sense. Today chances are that everything will be settled at the table," Walesa argued.

Church Officials Comment on Roundtable Talks

LD0903202689 Warsaw PAP in English
1932 GMT 9 Mar 89

["Church on Roundtable"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, March 9—Had it not been for participation of the church, this meeting would not have taken place...I am deeply convinced that consensus will be reached, which does not mean that all problems will be solved—these are statements by Father Alojzy Orszulik, director of the Press Office of Poland's Episcopate and by Father Bronislaw Dembowski, rector of St. Martin's Church in Warsaw. The statements constitute part of interviews published by PRZEGLAD Katolicki, the weekly of the Warsaw archdiocese (Cardinal Glemp's).

Father Orszulik said among other things: The Church will surely play an important role here. This is being admitted by both sides...which needed the Church and therefore turned to it to take part in these (preparatory) talks. The point was to have a credible witness and, more than once, a mediator.

Obviously, representatives of the church were not silent participants in preparatory talks, whereas at the roundtable they act in the capacity of observers. Such is the mandate we received from the episcopate. The social and the government side alike requested that church representatives be present during the work of teams and subteams...the bishops based on the assumption that the presence of the Church is not necessary while details are being discussed....

I never realized—Father Orszulik goes on to say—the magnitude of work facing the roundtable...I am deeply convinced that consensus will become a fact, that it will be reached. Which does not mean that all problems will be solved. On the contrary, many a problem will remain to be solved in passing, as it were. It is intended for the roundtable to result in the appointment of a consultative committee to continue to tackle problems left by teams and subteams.

To convince the sides that there is no other way out, that the meeting is necessary, that they must talk to each other, that a genuine dialogue between those governing and those governed must take place at last. A dramatic

moment like this came together with talks initiated by secretary of Poland's Episcopate Archbishop Bronislaw Dabrowski which were held on the premises of the parish church in Wilanow on November 17 and 18 last year. Had it not been for those talks, the first stage of the PUWP CC 10th Plenum probably should not have taken place. And then, without the second Church-State talks, at the very start of this year, as they say, the second part of that plenum would not have followed nor would the stand on trade union and political pluralism formulated at the time. Even though many procedural, formal, substantive things still had to be overcome.

I think that participants in the roundtable constitute a real force. But there is a second question of whether they represent the whole of society, all of its factions. I think they do not. But should they form a representative group, it would be too large to reach agreement.

In the same issue of PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI Father Dembowski said among other things: Ours is a symbolical place at the roundtable. On my right sitting were representatives of the government side, and on my left, beginning with Father Alojzy Orszulik, representatives of the social side. Whereas we were right in the middle. Mr Walesa and Mr Kiszczak were sitting opposite each other. Our presence there, and above all the presence of Father Orszulik, was the presence of the Church, the Church in hierarchical terms.

1 Mar Meeting of Political Team Reported

AU0903175989 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 2 Mar 89 p 3

[PAP report: "Meeting of Political Affairs Team"]

[Excerpts] The "roundtable" team for political affairs held its third meeting in Warsaw on 1 March. It was chaired by Bronislaw Geremek and Janusz Reykowski.

Opening the meeting, B. Geremek proposed that, in accordance with a decision reached at the previous meeting, the team examine a complete scenario of political reforms which may become the subject of a social contract. It is important that we realize that it is high time we reached some decisions, said B. Geremek. The "roundtable" is already over 3 weeks old. [passage omitted]

The "roundtable" is an opportunity to initiate a new political order in Poland. That is why it is essential for the participating sides to be equipped with real decision-making powers, and then the "roundtable" will not be a mere exchange of opinions. It lies in the interests of the country and "Solidarity" to include the principle of trade union pluralism in the process of making the whole of political life more democratic. If the reform is to be effective it must cover all the most important spheres of social life and the functioning of the state. The reform must bring about fundamental, clear, and thorough changes, so that society can be convinced that something is happening at last. Therefore, the accord we are meant to reach must cover all basic spheres and introduce thorough changes. B. Geremek also pointed out that a "roundtable" fiasco would open the door for those social forces who think that any accord is a mistake, a violation of moral and ideological principles, and a betrayal. [passage omitted]

It was decided that the next meeting of the "roundtable" team for political reforms would be on Saturday, 4 March.

Reykowski Interviewed on Political Reform

AU0903201189 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 25 Feb 89 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Janusz Reykowski, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo, by Marian Turski: "Who Is To Change: The Opposition or the Authorities?"—date, place not given]

[Excerpt] Turski: So, the "roundtable" is taking place. Every evening Poland watches a political serial of a kind that we have never had before. It is a serial in which opposition forces and tendencies can air their views and alternative programs can be put forward. The "roundtable" is a synonym for reaching agreement, for compromise, or, to use a word that has lately become fashionable, for consensus. Thus, to put it in plain Polish: It means agreement or, more accurately, the process of reaching agreement. This prompts the following question: Might not the "roundtable," the product of tactical moves on the part of both the establishment and the opposition intended to secure rapid, immediate gains for both sides, obscure the most important issues: a new strategy, a new long-term thinking, a strategy that is to culminate in a transformation of social structures and the evolutionary development of the institutional system?

Reykowski: I would like to tell you how I see this strategy (and I do not think that this is just my personal view). The key issue is the creation of a democratic system in Poland—the development of a civic society in which citizens are active agents in political action and not just puppets guided by instructions from above or by central institutions. Having said that, I realize that the attainment of this goal requires changes to the principles governing the election of representative bodies so that citizens' wishes can determine the political structure of these bodies.

Until now the structure of representative bodies was determined by agreement between the governing forces. At best, the citizen could choose between different people, but not between different programs, and even this choice was kept to a minimum for a great many years.

Turski: But does the very concept—elections—not sound like some kind of magic spell?

Reykowski: The essential point is the realization of the principle of free elections. However, the term "free elections" should lose this mystique, be divested of magical properties. There is no system anywhere in the world under which free elections mean that every agent, that is, citizen has an equal opportunity to determine their character. In actual fact the basic prerequisite for free elections is a particular social order that is reflected and finds expression in a particular political system. Moreover, the electoral mechanism is usually constructed in a way that ensures that choices are made between political forces within a particular institutional framework. There are a few cases in recent history that show that when the outcome of free elections posed a challenge to a particular institutional system, democratic mechanisms were rejected and there was recourse to the use of force. That is what happened in Spain in 1936 and in Chile when Salvador Allende became president. There have not been any elections in history that have involved choosing a particular institutional system! That is why the term "free elections" cannot mean being able to demand a solution that would challenge the institutional order. That would be adventurism. Nevertheless, we must seek an answer to the question of how we can bring about a situation in which citizens will be able to choose between various programs.

Turski: Even between rival programs?

Reykowski: Yes, of course, between rival programs, but programs that can exist within the framework of the current institutional order. This, of course, calls for a new way of looking at the party system in Poland. That is why an important task that must be accomplished on this road is the creation of a law on parties. I think that the issue will have to be on the agenda for work on the future constitution.

Turski: This puts the question of the PZPR's role on the agenda.... At the same time, the way in which programs are created has to be reviewed. How did the PZPR acquire the privilege of directing the state—the turning point was surely the merger of the two parties—and of having a monopoly on the creation of programs during the course of the last 40 years?

Reykowski: Let us not forget that the PZPR is not a party in the traditional sense. It is not the kind of party that exists in the West—the kind of party that has to stand for election and has to transfer power depending on the outcome of an election. It is (for historical reasons) the main guarantor of the political order, the cornerstone of stability in the state. In a capitalist system, the foundations of the social order are linked to property: Irrespective of changes of government and changes in ruling parties, the system's property relations remain the same. In our case, the continuity of our system has been guaranteed by a Marxist party. This special role that the PZPR performs means that at the present time, challenging the PZPR would amount to challenging the system. We have to bear this in mind when we consider ways of reforming political life in Poland. However, this does not mean that the PZPR is to be the one and only active agent in political life in Poland, the only source of programs. This also means that the PZPR cannot and should not stand above society. On the contrary, and this was said quite openly at the recent ideology conference, the party and its activity cannot remain outside the sphere of public control. The creation of a law on parties is a matter for the future. However, the process of creating a new political infrastructure is something that is taking place today. The first step is the creation of conditions enabling various sociopolitical orientations to organize themselves, to associate, and this will permit them to formulate their political thinking. This is precisely the purpose of the new law on associations. A self-imposed curtailment of the monocentric role of the party by way of the entry of opposition tendencies into the system of representation is also of enormous significance. This means that forces that are independent of the authorities will find themselves within the system of government. This will provide the opposition with an opportunity to participate in the reorganization of the system of government.

Turski: Does this signify a fundamental change in the role of the PZPR, a renunciation of its hegemony in Polish political life, which is provided for by legislation (by, among other things, the constitutional amendments adopted in the 1970's)?

Reykowski: An important way in which this change is reflected is an increase in the role of the PZPR's coalition partners as sovereign political agents. The new principles governing the formation of representative organs that have been proposed are also very important. These principles will greatly increase citizen's influence on the selection of Sejm deputies. It is true that the upcoming elections will still involve some measure of prior agreement on the composition of representative organs—the upcoming elections will largely depend on competition between individuals—but the PZPR—this is being consciously planned and we are proposing to impose these curbs on ourselves!—will not have a majority in the new parliament. Thus, in order to have legislation passed that it deems sensible, and even more so in the case of constitutional amendments, which require a majority, the PZPR will have to enter into coalitions, to canvass allies, and be able to act according to the rules of the parliamentary game. I should stress that a parliament of this kind should mean that the conflicts and clashes that arise in society should be resolved within the Sejm, and not in the streets or through strikes. [passage omitted]

Commentary Supports Opposition's Proposals

AU2202114889 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 18-19 Feb 89 p 9

[Commentary by Wlodzimierz Lozinski: "A Pacifist's Dreams"]

[Text] I never thought that an old, pragmatic journalist could find himself agreeing so much with the youthful

radicalism expressed by some members of the opposition. The "roundtable" has shown how wrong I am. Take the case of the institutional form of the state; I am close to sharing Adam Michnik's view that the ineffective and obsolete structures of the old system should not be maintained. I also agree that it should never become some totalitarian state based on Western models. However, should we adopt the Spanish model that—according to Michnik—allowed for "a smooth transition from francoism to democracy"?

It is very evident that Mr Michnik is confusing an institutional system with a particular form of government and, in doing so, he is displaying a lack of ambition and imagination. In effecting a transition from Franco's dictatorship to parliamentary democracy, Spain did not introduce changes into the institutional system, it did not abolish old forms of property relations, the old criteria of class democracy, and old foreign policy positions. We accomplished this a long time ago and, quite honestly, I see no reason why we should make ourselves resemble Spain in these areas. I do not see such changes making any kind of political or social sense. So the advocate of the Spanish concept lacks imagination. However, he also lacks the ambition to be independent, and thus to be a little better perhaps. One can envy the Spanish for displaying this kind of ambition. They introduced a parliament, but—to be different from, for example, the Italians—they restored the monarchy. They have remained a bourgeois democracy, but—in contrast to the British, for example—continue to declare that there is a need for social democratic reforms. In view of this situation, should we simply copy other models parrot fashion? I have got more ambition and imagination, and it stems from the conviction that social revolution creates the permanent and indispensable values of popular sovereignty, social equality, and more. They only have to be developed.

The pacifist's dreams and brutal geopolitical reality clash in a similar way. In my dreams, I am ready to go even further than J. Onyszkiewicz, who proposes a 20 percent reduction in Poland's Armed Forces now. The world would indeed be a beautiful place if mankind did not possess any weapons, did not waste manpower and resources on the manufacture of weapons, and did not spend money on maintaining armies and arms producers. However, what relevance does this have if the creation of such a world seems to be a long way off and is something on which our dreams seem to have little bearing. The arms field shows that the playwright boy was right when he said that the whole problem lies in getting two people to want the same thing at the same time.

The situation is such that one of the two does not want to at all, or at least not at the same time. The defense minister, General Florian Siwicki would like to and so would the National Defense Committee, because in view of the difficult economic situation, a program of complete disarmament would help the country. Of course, it would not help the country as much as the pacifists hope. After all, we have an army that is cheaper, smaller, and more modestly armed than others, which is borne out by precise calculations, including Western ones. We also have an army that provides an exceptional contribution to the national economy, not only by performing socially useful work, but also by preparing thousands of young people for practical, civilian occupations. If this training was provided by other ministries, the cost would also be great.

However, the most important thing is that historical experience shows that pacifism is even significantly more expensive than a costly defense capacity. Although the olive branch and the dove of peace are beautiful symbols, they have never helped anyone to preserve independence and sovereignty. They have never helped Poland. Although neutral Sweden and Switzerland bank on non-alliance, they nevertheless adhere to the old roman principle of "si vis pacem para bellum"—if you want peace, prepare for war. So they build fallout shelters and accumulate costly weapons, even in their homes.

I am not lookin[illegible] lversaries, but even a child knows that they exis[illegible]t they do not want to disarm. Following the [illegible]l of Soviet forces, the war in Afghanistan cou[illegible]pidly come to an end, because no one in the country [illegible]aces weapons, let alone missiles, but foreign suppliers will not stop supplying the mujahidin.

All the states involved in the CSCE process have agreed to the rapid commencement of negotiations on reducing conventional weapons on our continent, but first they have only agreed to a partial reduction, second, there are to be no restrictions on shorter-range nuclear weapons, and third, it is to be accompanied by the simultaneous improvement and restructuring of capabilities that are not covered by current restrictions or negotiations. What is more. U.S. President George Bush has announced that progress in negotiations concerning a reduction in global weapons will be linked to a further revision of the actual situation from the angle of greater security for the West. This viewpoint is also to apply to the future of negotiations on prohibiting the possession and manufacture of chemical weapons.

What is more, the lighting tour of all the NATO countries that U.S. Secretary of State James Baker made last week has indicated that the United States, like Great Britain, would very much like a comprehensive program for the modernization of shorter-range nuclear missiles to be approved before the end of May this year. One of the aims of the program is to extend the range of missiles to 500 kilometers, that is, to a range that would take in Poland if the missiles were launched from the FRG.

What is more, there is also talk of new conventional weapons and laser, electronic weapons, with which we are still not familiar, and of maintaining the doctrines of deterrence and first strike "in the event of the launching of a war that is calculated to produce a rapid victory." Admittedly, Morton Halperin, former U.S. assistant defense secretary, and Jane Wales, a member of the

so-called "Plans for Security Options" organization, have said (in the columns of the New York Times) that both doctrines are nonsensical in light of the opportunities created by programs for reducing weapons to a level that would make any kind of aggressive war impossible, but for the time being their voices are in a minority.

Nevertheless, the East is continuing its efforts to accord preference to and to realize the principle of reducing weapons to a level that would eliminate the possibility of an aggressive war being launched, at least in Europe, and of allowing every state to possess no more than the capacity (which would be subject to inspection) required to defend itself. This is the principle that we have adopted in Poland, a country that has much to defend and would never want to find itself in the same situation as in 1939.

Reason dictates that we should wait for a while before realizing pacifist dreams, even if they have high moral overtones and even if we all have to pay for being armed at a level that ensures our security.

Post Offices Continue Strike, Demand Pay Raise

LD1003021189 Warsaw PAP in English
2344 GMT 9 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 9—Despite appeals made by the general directors of the State Post and Telecommunications Office and the Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Telecommunication Workers, strikes continue in some post offices in Warsaw, Krakow, the Radom Voivodship and several other localities.

The striking crews forward mainly pay claims.

Out of 242 post offices here, 38 ones did not work today.

Jaruzelski Holds Talks With CPCZ's Stepan

LD0903222589 Warsaw Television Service
in Polish 1830 GMT 9 Mar 89

[Text] Wojciech Jaruzelski received Miroslav Stepan, first secretary of the Prague city party committee.

In the conversation Wojciech Jaruzelski and Miroslav Stepan exchanged information on the sociopolitical situation in Poland and the CSSR. They positively assessed the results of cooperation so far between the party organizations of Warsaw and Prague. Wojciech Jaruzelski familiarized himself with plans for the further development of joint actions and their better adaptation to the needs of the people of both capitals.

Stepan Departs for Home

LD0903223889 Prague CTK in English
2147 GMT 9 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw March 9 (CTK correspondent)—The present changes in Poland, Czechoslovakia and other socialist countries have a common target, to strengthen socialism, though they are carried out in different conditions. This is our impression also of our current visit to Warsaw, head of a delegation of the Czehcoslovak Communist Party Prague City committee Miroslav Stepan told Czechoslovak journalists at the close of the visit.

Miroslav Stepan, Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium member and chief secretary of the Prague city party committee, stressed that the changes require great efforts as well as exchange of experience, mainly as regards the activation and mobiliation of the party. If the fraternal parties do not head the changes they will not bring expected results anywhere. The changes are the cause of all and all should therefore particpate in them as party General Secretary Milos Jakes said at sessions of the Party Central Committee, Miroslav Stepan stressed.

Speaking about some political-economic questions, Miroslav Stepan said that there are two possibilities: of unconstructive opposition on the part of autonomous bodies in relation to the economic leadership or constructive cooperation.

Janusz Kubasiewicz, alternate member of the Polish United Workers' Party Politburo, has described the current visit of the Czechoslovak delegation to Poland as a continuation of very close, cordial and friendly relations and cooperation. In his inteview to Czechoslovak journalists, he voiced the conviction that this very useful visit will undoubtedly contribute to further uniting of citizens of Prague and Warsaw.

Miroslav Stepan was received here today by Polish United Workers' Party First Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski. The Polish representative pointed out the extraordinary role of the capitals in the life of the two countries and stressed great significance of further development and extension of cooperation between the two parties and states in connection with the conclusion adopted at his recent meeting with Milos Jakes in Prague.

Miroslav Stepan informed the highest Polish representative of the Present political and economic situation in Czechoslovakia and of the main tasks of the Prague party organization in the process of restructuring, and of the present state and new forms of cooperation with the Warsaw party organization.

Later today the delegation ended its two-day official friendly visit to Warsaw and left for home.

Orzechowski Addresses Gdansk PZPR Conference

LD0403225289 Warsaw PAP in English
2140 GMT 4 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 4—PUWP report conferences were held in Gdansk, Kielce, Lublin, Rzeszow, Siedlce, Slupsk and Wloclawek today.

At the end of the discussion held during the party conference in Gdansk, the floor was taken by Political Bureau Member, PUWP CC Secretary Marian Orzechowski who said in part: "The key to solving Polish problems is in the hands of PUWP which after the 10th plenum has a far-reaching programme and concepts of the country's development. The realization of this programme requires, however, the unity and efficiency of actions. Unity is the main condition for the preservation of systemic foundations."

"The Gdansk party organization is for the party a kind of a test range. As it is here that initiatives defining not only what is to be done but also how to do it originate. The confrontation of the new with the old carried out in the coastal region produces the formula of the party as the fighting, political force able to win social confidence, to create the front of pro-socialist and pro-reform forces," Orzechowski said.

Also today, Orzechowski met with the members of the citizens' convent to the rector of the University of Gdansk. The convent, which is kind of a campus "roundtable", was set up over a year ago and, due to its form of a discussion club, associates representatives of all organizations and political orientations operating within the academic milieu.

While assuming an attitude to questions concerning the three-party coalition and cooperation with opposition, Orzechowski stressed that parliamentary democracy in Poland is the target political vision. The coalition is one of the stages, a way to reach, despite considerable differences, consensus on behalf of supreme national interests, Orzechowski said.

Siwicki Interview Adopted by United Nations

LD1003022189 Warsaw PAP in English 0034 GMT 10 Mar 89

[Text] New York, March 9—Last February interview by Poland's minister of national defence, Gen Florian Siwicki, in which he presented the programme of reduction of the Polish Armed Forces, has become an official document of the United Nations.

A letter was published here today by the head of the Polish mission at the U.N., Ambassador Eugeniusz Noworyta, to the U.N. Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar, along with the said interview granted to Polish TV on February 26, 1989.

The text of the interview has been adopted an official document of the 44th session of the U.N. General Assembly in points 61 and 63 of the agenda concerning the reduction of military budgets as well as common and complete conventional disarmament.

Colonel Kaczmarek Views Polish Defense Strategy

AU0903135689 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 27 Feb 89 p 4

[Article by Colonel Julian Kaczmarek: "State Defense Strategy—National Security"]

[Excerpts] In no other country has the problem of military doctrine or, more appropriately for us, defense doctrine been so widely publicized as in Poland, starting with the press and finishing with books.

The Ministry of National Defense publishing house has published many books on doctrine since 1979. Let me list a few of the titles of which I am author or co-author: "War and Military Doctrine" (1979), "Military Science and Doctrine—National and Internationalist Problems" (1980), "Military Doctrine" (1982), "The Defense System of the Socialist State" (1983), "Military Science and Doctrine" (1985), "The Armed Forces" (1986), "Military Service" (1986), and "The Battle to Survive" (1988).

The outcome of scientific conferences in which doctrine was a major item on the agenda has also been published in book form and made available to the public. Such titles include "Poland and the FRG" (published by "Pomorze" publishers, Bydgoszcz, 1986) which earned second prize from the Polish minister of national defense in 1988, or "From the Idea of Nuclear-Free Zones to a World Free of Mass-Destruction Weapons" (published by the Patriotic Movement of National Rebirth, Warsaw, 1987).

Doctrine is still frequently presented in such monthlies or bimonthlies as MYSL WOJSKOWA [MILITARY THOUGHT], WOJSKO LUDOWE [PEOPLE'S ARMY], or WIEDZA OBRONNA [DEFENSE KNOWLEDGE]. It should be noted that since 1986 every issue of this latter freely-available periodical has contained articles on various aspects of military doctrine. [passage omitted]

One may say that it is essential to create in Poland a center of studies dealing with state defense. I believe this center should be situated within the forthcoming National Defense Academy. However, one should realize that this center should consist of high-class specialists of many different scientific fields who are able to conduct research all these fields. [passage omitted]

Scientific research into state defense strategy should be speeded up. Nevertheless, thanks to regular and long-standing work on the methodological, theoretical, and substantive aspects of military doctrine which scientific workers and practicians have carried out, we may not only establish new doctrinal decisions, but also initiate international talks on this subject.

Borisenko Offers View on Detente, Openness

AU2802121989 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 22 Feb 89 p 3

[NOVOSTI commentary 'specially for ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI' by Colonel Valeriy Borisenko: "Detente Needs Openness"]

[Text] On the basis of the mandate that was adopted after 2 years of Vienna talks, the 23 countries belonging to the Warsaw Pact and NATO will soon begin to discuss the consolidation of security measures in Europe, while maintaining the lowest possible level of conventional armed forces and armaments. An accord on this issue is an important stage on the way to achieving a certain military-strategic stability in Europe.

However, a constructive approach toward the problem of eliminating the objective asymmetries calls for a sober assessment of the military potentials of both sides.

The Warsaw Pact proposed an exchange of official numerical data on conventional armed forces and armaments as far back as March 1988, but NATO avoided a response and published data on the basis of an arbitrary, unilateral method of reckoning. This is not the first time that NATO has performed its calculations in its own way, and every time it does so, a "threat from the East" is confirmed. How could it be otherwise, when even Soviet generals have referred to Western sources in their speeches on the subject of the ratio of forces.

Up to now, the latest information on the numerical status of the USSR Armed Forces could be obtained from 1962 statistical annuals. However, such information as the number of Warsaw Pact tanks was kept secret. Now, at last, the number of tanks, artillery pieces, aircraft, and other types of armaments has been publicized. The data gives the size of each side's conventional forces and military personnel, in the eyes of Warsaw Pact experts. However, these figures do not have to be considered as the only accurate ones. The Warsaw Pact Defense Ministers Committee statement says that the numerical data on armed forces and armaments in Europe and adjoining waters is not intended to serve as a point of departure for calculations, nor is it meant to replace negotiations.

There are major differences in the way in which the Warsaw Pact and NATO calculate their forces. This is quite natural, because each side's experts employ different methods of calculation. In order to establish a joint method of calculation, it will be necessary to carry out more complex comparisons, rather than just the traditional mathematical ones. For example, one may compare the NATO AH-1 combat helicopter with the Soviet T-62 tank. Western military experts believe that during a single flight, an AH-1 helicopter can wipe out two or three T-62 tanks, and the AH-64A helicopter can even wipe out six. However, both sides admit that even if each side calculates the size of forces in its own way, one arrives at an approximate military parity in Europe that does not allow either side any real military superiority.

Open discussions about conventional military potentials is something that is new and unprecedented, but the danger of war to Europe and the whole of civilization is equally unprecedented. European security calls for urgent action to remove the existing asymmetries, reduce offensive weapons, and restructure both blocs and provide them with a strictly defensive character.

NOVOSTI's Beglov on Disarmamaent, Reductions

AU0903090989 Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish 27 Feb 89 p 3

[NOVOSTI article "specially for SLOWO POWSZECHNE" by Spartak Beglov: "A Chain Reaction of Common Sense"]

[Text] The complex problems with which the East and West are going to have to deal during the life of the new Washington administration are marked by two circumstances.

First, Moscow's decision on a unilateral reduction of its Armed Forces and resources which, as Mikhail Gorbachev said recently, will lead to a one-eighth reduction in the numerical status of the USSR Armed Forces, a one-fifth reduction in weapons manufacture, and a one-seventh reduction in military expenditures.

It surprises me how some Western experts are quick to explain Moscow's broad publicity of these measures at the same time as the change in the White House tenancy as an attempt to place the new U.S. Government in a difficult situation and get rid of outdated armaments at the same time. However, the Soviet leader intercepted these dishonest assessments of the Soviet decisions, and said that over half of the 10,000 European tanks due to be withdrawn (and then destroyed) are the latest models. Nevertheless, the fact remains that someone very much wanted George Bush not to believe in the Soviet Union's sincerity.

The second circumstance is the Soviet decision to reduce an appropriate part of its tactical nuclear weaponry, again on a unilateral basis, at the same time as the conventional forces. Of course, this places those people in the West in favor of preserving and improving North Atlantic Pact nuclear arsenals in a difficult situation. This time, Washington, or, to be more exact, a representative of the outgoing government, reacted with a statement whereby this Soviet move should under no circumstances interfere with NATO plans to modernize its tactical nuclear resources. I think words like this are only making life difficult for Reagan's successors, because NATO attachment to tactical nuclear weapons is becoming a danger to U.S. security. The longer these weapons are kept and the greater the degree of computerized

control over them, the greater the likelihood that the Americans will be drawn into a nuclear conflict, which may break out in Europe at any time.

At a time when the "Reagan era" is ending and the G. Bush administration is beginning, many observers (including a colleague of mine from IZVESTIYA) are pleased that the new president has presented himself as a "political pragmatist." I agree, but that is only one side of the coin. Experience shows that even avowed pragmatists find it very difficult to avoid being influenced by people who mistrust Soviet intentions.

One of the most frequent mistakes made by such advisers is that they see only one purpose in Soviet action: propaganda. Yet everything that is now happening in Soviet foreign policy is dictated by the irreversible processes occurring inside the country. A renewal of the whole of society and the whole of politics is taking place in the USSR. The alterations that the Kremlin wishes to make to its armaments plans by 1991 are only the beginning of a process leading to a further reshuffle of priorities in accordance with the doctrine of sensible sufficiency. As KOMMUNIST has recently said, it is time the Defense Ministry stopped treating its own tasks as aims in itself, and started to plan its expenditures as "projects of the century."

On 15 February, USSR and U.S. delegations are due to resume in Geneva work on an agreement to reduce strategic offensive weapons by 50 percent. Immediately after assuming office, President George Bush said that he will have to review all aspects of these talks before he states his own position. At the same time, it is difficult not to notice that, just like the Soviet Union, the United States cannot ignore domestic priorities. That means that the fate of the American "project of the century"—the SDI program—should depend not on military rivalry with the USSR, but on the American economy's ability to pay for this financially disastrous program. It is also no secret to anyone that success in reaching an accord on strategic offensive weapons depends to a major extent on whether or not weapons are spread to space.

At a time when the baton of power is being passed in Washington, there are many encouraging words on the subject of continuing the previous line of American foreign policy. Moscow is making it clear all the time that it views this continuation as a chain reaction of common sense and as a restructuring in the spirit of new thinking, which no state can do without today.

Daily Cited on Katyn Massacre, Study Commission

LD0903143589 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0730 GMT 9 Mar 89

[Text] Let us go back to the columns of the TRYBUNA LUDU. Attention is also drawn to an interview with Professor Jarema Maciszewski, entitled "Closer and Closer to the Truth," devoted to the fate of Polish officers on the soil of the Soviet Union. It must be taken as proven that the bodies of over 4,200 Polish officers exclusively from Kozielsk, are to be found in the Katyn graves, said the professor. The undoubtedly equally tragic fate of officers from Starobielsk, and of officers and noncommissioned officers of the Frontier Protection Corps [KOP], functionaries of the frontier and prison guards, police officers and noncommissioned officers, and public prosecutors, interned in Ostaszkow remains to be explained, said the professor. [Words indistinct] about this last camp.

Numerical lists of those interned in Kozielsk and Starobielsk were at one time quite accurately reconstructed in the West, although those from Ostaszkow they were reconstructed only to a limited degree. We are conducting intensive research in this field. Regarding the Katyn tragedy, the Polish side has presented the Soviet side with an extensive expert appraisal, based mainly on Polish and Western sources. We do not have the Soviet sources at our disposal. It transpires unequivocally from the expert appraisal that everything points to the organs of the NKVD as the perpetrators of the crime. The Soviet side received with understanding our criticism of the so-called (?Burdenko) Communique, that is, of the special commission for studying the Katyn crime of January 1944, which was the fundamental and, in fact, the only document operating on the Soviet side up to the time of the appointment of our joint commission. At the same time, however, attention was drawn to the fact that the information we point to in the expert appraisal is circumstantial evidence. It does not contain, since it cannot contain, direct proof of guilt. For this reason, the Soviet side recognized as essential the conduct of a thorough search and study of the Soviet source material on its part.

Works on 'Katyn Crime' To Appear in Bookstores

LD0903203589 Warsaw PAP in English 1817 GMT 9 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 9—First publications devoted to the Katyn crime are to appear in book shops soon.

The work titled "Epitafia Oficerow Polskich Pochowanych w Katyniu" (Epitaphs of the Polish Officers Buried in Katyn), prepared by the Kaw publishers and based on documents worked out by the military historical institute will contain biographical data on over 4 thousand persons whose remains were found in mass graves in Katyn.

In early June the "Ksiazka i Wiedza" publishing house is to issue a book by Czeslaw Madajczyk" Dramat Katynski" (The Katyn Tragedy) based on reports and information as well the results of the recent expertise of the Polish-Soviet historians' commission. The book reconstructs the supposed course of the tragic events and includes published and unpublished documents from the English, Polish and Soviet archives.

Also the "Wiedza Powszechna" and "Alfa" publishers intend to issue books on the Katyn crime.

'Sociodemocratization' of PZPR Considered

AU0903200089 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 2 Mar 89 p 6

[Wlodzimierz Malinowski article: "Social Democratization: Myth or Reality?"]

[Excerpts] Several people at the Third All-Polish Ideological and Theoretical Conference of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] said something that used to be considered outrageous—they said that the PZPR should become a social democratic party and that it should become part of that current of the international workers movement that is traditionally classified as "reformist" or "opportunist" and with which one associates such qualities as "a reluctance to build socialism," "an acceptance of capitalist reality," "a loss of the class basis of social activity," "a lack of a revolutionary spirit," and so on. Until very recently, up to the beginning of the present decade, we considered social democracy to be an attack on the PZPR's identity and political program.

Today, on the other hand, some party aktivists and ideologues suggest "social democratization" as a medicine for the party's illnesses and weakness, and as an instrument that enables the party to enter the era of pluralism and democracy. [passage omitted]

When speaking about social democracy, those party aktivists in favor of it have in mind the experience of some West European parties (for example, the West German Social Democratic Party or the Scandinavian parties). These are parties that enjoy the greatest influence and traditions. They, too, possess a high level of political culture. In addition, today they are governing the lives of societies that have achieved a particularly high standard of living through economic and scientific development. [passage omitted]

However, we must realize that a direct transfer of social democratic experience from other parties to the PZPR is not possible. The most we can expect is a "make-believe" social democracy in the PZPR, whereby "social democratic" would be a label stuck on any solutions that are convenient for some ruling group or party clique. [passage omitted]

What is possible is changes inside the party involving a readjustment of various subsidiary elements of social life, such as economic and politics. Only then will it be possible to dispense with the party's image as a specific state structure, and adopt instead an image of the party as a political force and structure that is interested in an efficient state and is not forced to "concern" itself with the substance of social institutions and the socialist nature of the state.

Five Chlorine Trucks Derailed in Bialystok

LD0903171889 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1615 GMT 9 Mar 89

[Text] In Bialystok five tanker trucks have been derailed. Each of them contained 50 tonnes of chlorine. Such a quantity can kill every form of life in an area of 50 square kilometers. All traffic has been halted. Residents of the neighboring areas are informed of the need to evacuate. A moment ago I spoke with Lieutenant Colonel Stanislaw Szoda, commanding officer of the voivodship fire brigade command center. He has just returned from the site. Three of the derailed tanker trucks are lying on their side, one has already been lifted, and if there are no complications the rescue action will last, until midnight, more or less.

UN Experts May Probe Human Rights Record

AU0803123689 Paris AFP in English
1227 GMT 8 Mar 89

[Text] Geneva, March 8 (AFP)—Romania might invite a U.N. human rights panel to investigate alleged human rights violations in the country if a U.N. resolution condemning Bucharest is withdrawn, informed diplomatic sources said here Wednesday.

Sweden has submitted a resolution to the United Nations Commission on Human Rights here calling for a U.N. rapporteur to look into Romania's allegedly poor human rights record. The document which is to be voted on later in the day has been co-sponsored by Britain, Australia, Hungary France, Portugal, and Austria.

Sources said the seven countries were ready to accept the invitation on the condition that they can move around Romania unimpeded and talk to the people of their choice. They may also want to question ethnic Romanians in neighbouring countries and demand that witnesses not be harassed by authorities after they had talked to U.N. experts, sources added. Such harassment was reported last year after a similar U.N. investigation in Cuba.

Chances that the resolution will be adopted are good as the Soviet Union, and other East European countries decided to abstain or leave before a vote takes place. Sources said the vote could be postponed for one or two days as Romania was likely to negotiate the conditions for a visit.

Disarmament Proposals, European Security

AU0903200189 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1726 GMT 9 Mar 89

["Romania's Realistic and Constructive Proposals for Disarmament and Security in Europe"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 09/03/1989—Convinced that real security in Europe and the world over cannot be built up by increasing military arsenals but by providing an equilibrium at an ever lower level of arming, the only way that complies with the interests of peace and peoples, Romania advanced further realistic and constructive proposals in Vienna, showing inter alia: the Romanian state proposes the two military alliances to cut 25-30 per cent armaments and troops in a first stage and 50 per cent in the year 2000 from the current level. In Romania's opinion such cuts must not be made automatically in all countries but proportionally to their level of arming, by covenanting balanced, approximately equal ceilings conducive to eliminating imbalances and asymmetries. It considers it would be of special importance to demobilize the troops submitted to reduction and destroy or transfer armaments to be used for peaceful purposes. Likewise, the cuts should be made under efficient control, with effects both on reduction measures and on the pledges assumed with regard to the armed forces and the armaments resulted after the cuts.

Romania proposed that troops and arms reduction be paralleled by big cuts in military spending—25-30 per cent in a first stage and 50 per cent till the year 2000, while the tremendous financial means thus saved be not used for other than peaceful purposes. In this respect it would be important for the participating states to take bilateral pledges and present the economic and social domains toward which the saved sums will be streamlined and, in a subsequent stage, the military spending cuts be included in specific accords and make the object of control measures. The measures for the troops, weapons and military spending reduction should also be paralleled by a limited manufacture of armaments, while military enterprises should be re-oriented toward the peaceful industry.

As for the framework in which disarmament negotiations should proceed, Romania has suggested ever since December 1982 the initiation of direct negotiations between the two military alliances the Warsaw Treaty and NATO, given the fact that they are responsible for the military situation created in Europe. Assessing the positive evolutions which allowed for the beginning of the current negotiations in Vienna, Romania thinks that the proposals and actions of the Warsaw Treaty countries prove their will and determination to work for a substantial cut in conventional weapons and military expenditure. The NATO countries also advanced proposals apt to help a realistic and constructive approach to conventional disarmament questions. In relation to the negotiations on the adoption of confidence- and security-building measures, Romania thinks that they must mark a new stage by passing from the declaration of the goal of achieving growing confidence and foresight to effectively limiting the conditions which might allow for a surprise attack or wide-scale offensive actions. For the attainment of such goals it advanced a number of proposals according to which the new generation of confidence- and security-building measures should include: the limitation of the intensity and sphere of military activities, renunciation of certain activities which can generate mistrust and tension, limited possibilities for wide-scale offensive actions, the establishment of measures which should prevent nuclear accidents, and others. Considering the organic integration between various categories of weapons, Romania also proposes that the new generation of confidence- and security-building measures should extend over the activity of the Navy and the Air Force which is to make an object of negotiations.

Tabling such considerations and proposals with regard to conventional disarmament, Romania underlined the need for the Vienna negotiations to be an organic part of general and complete disarmament, whose centrepiece is nuclear disarmament. In the context, it proposes that the negotiations on conventional disarmament be paralleled by further efforts toward freeing the European continent

of nuclear weapons and safeguarding European peoples from the threat of a nuclear war, suggesting to this effect the setting up of a special negotiation forum for nuclear weapons in Europe.

The safeguarding of peace, the halting of the arms race and the passage to real, effective disarmament measures are major aims of the Romanian foreign policy, the newspaper notes underscoring that such international issues are of direct concern to all the states, which calls for their direct participation in analyzing and solving them. The fact that the negotiations on conventional armed forces in Europe will be held only between the 23 states members of the two military blocs must in no way lead to a violation of such a principle. That is why Romania clearly reiterated that these negotiations are not held by two military blocs but by 23 independent and sovereign states on the basis of full equality.

The opening of the two negotiation fora is one of the positive results of the all-European meeting in Vienna that takes place within the CSCE and, hence, it should observe its principles and rules. Their major objective should be the creation of conditions allowing for the simultaneous dissolution of the Warsaw Treaty and NATO and, after that, the joining of neutral and non-aligned states into negotiations so that the negotiations on conventional disarmament should be held within the natural framework of the 35 states participating in the all-European process. It is obvious that Europe cannot fulfill its mission otherwise but as a Europe united in the diversity of social systems, of the philosophical and political conceptions, a Europe which should become a champion of the fight for peace, disarmament and understanding, for collaboration and socioeconomic progress.

Daily Comments on Foreign Trade Efficiency

AU0903184189 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1648 GMT 9 Mar 89

["Efficiency and Competitiveness in Foreign Trade"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 9/3/1989—One of the remarkable achievements of the Romanian economy in 1988 was a six per cent growth of the foreign trade turnover on account of a high growth—of 10.5 per cent—of exports. Notwithstanding the restrictive and discriminatory practices in the international economic relations, the activity in foreign trade resulted in an active balance of trade in convertible currency of about four billion dollars, which secured the repayment of a considerable part of the foreign debt.

Starting from these facts, the Bucharest daily "SCINTEIA" makes, in its 9 March editorial, a cursory survey of the Romanian foreign trade in the last years and also an analysis of the current trends in this important sector of the Romanian economy. The first landmark in Romania's efforts to redress its balance of payments and, on this basis, to provide for a harmonious development of the economy, was the second oil shock of 1980, as well as the phenomena of world economic crisis, a year in which the country's exports accounted for only 86 per cent of the imports, the balance being covered by credits. Eight years after, in 1988, the exports were by almost 47 per cent larger than imports, and the surplus allowed for the substantial reduction of the foreign debt. In this interval, the national economy went through a complex process of readjustment, to orient production toward export mostly, without neglecting the further development of its productive force. Thus, between 1980 and 1988, the national income went up 44 per cent on account of a balanced growth of over 41 per cent of the industrial and farm production, with relatively constant investments and continued allocation of a substantial part of the national income for accumulation. In foreign trade, since 1981, the annual balance of trade has been active, while in 1981 and 1982 this was due to the reduction of imports mainly, in the following years exports soared up. In the first two years of the current five-year period, exports plumetted 20.1 per cent and imports kept at the 1986 level. Here are the basic traits of the Romanian readjustment model: a high accumulation rate to keep developing the productive force, limitation of imports to the bare necessities and fast growth of imports. And its success is proved by the fact that the moment when the foreign debt will be fully paid off is fast approaching.

Beyond this highly important achievements, the Romanian paper writes, mention deserves the consequences of the evolution from deficit to surplus in Romania's balance of trade. The way to reaching large enough surpluses to pay not only the interest but also the principal has required the adjustment of the economic structures, of the economic mechanism to export more than to import, which calls for a growth of the national production accordingly. The fact that Romania has an active balance accounting for 7.7 per cent of the national income stands proof of a healthy economy. The stress keeps falling on an active balance underlain mostly by the development of manufactures in the structure of exports. To increase the efficiency of the foreign trade and faster develop the national economy action is taken to further amplify cooperation in production in high-tech branches in particular. The strategic orientation toward expanded cooperation on the one hand and toward a growing role of industrial enterprises and central departments in the foreign trade on the other hand provide two complementary directions which give fine prospects to increasing the export of products Romanian enterprises make better and cheaper than foreign ones.

Presidency Agrees to Temporary Economic Measures

LD0903215489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1929 GMT 9 Mar 89

[Text] Belgrade, 9 Mar (TANJUG)—Today the SFRY Presidency agreed that nine laws establishing the economic policy and conditions for production in this sphere are to be adopted as temporary measures, as a result of the situation in which there was no agreement about numerous acts, whereby the entire economic life of the country was affected.

The statement from the session of the SFRY Presidency is as follows:

At the session held on 9 March—chaired by President Raif Dizdarevic—the SFRY Presidency considered the proposals of the FEC that nine laws establishing the economic policy and conditions of production in 1989 be adopted as temporary measures, and about which agreement has not been reached between delegations of the assemblies of republics and autonomous provinces.

The SFRY Presidency was in the situation in which there was no agreement about numerous acts, so the entire life of the country was affected, and it never happened before that such a number of temporary measures must be adopted at once. However, since it was in the position in which either it could agree to adopt temporary measures or the entire economic life of the country would suffer, the SFRY Presidency was forced to decide for the first option in the interest of securing the normal economic life of Yugoslavia.

At the same time the SFRY Presidency noted that the procedure of harmonizing stands on proposals of these laws has been underway for several months in the SFRY Assembly—since November, that is December of last year—but the engagement of the SFRY Assembly and the FEC in reaching an agreement was without results, due to different interests of the republics, that is autonomous provinces. The current situation points out that necessary concern for joint interests of the Yugoslav economy and the country as a whole was lacking in the previous procedure of harmonizing stands.

With regard to all this, the SFRY Presidency, on the basis of its constitutional authority, agreed with the FEC proposal that adoption of all nine laws as temporary measures be proposed to the SFRY Assembly. The SFRY Presidency is of the opinion that continuation of such a relation would put into jeopardy considerably the functioning of the Yugoslav federation and its future, implementation of the constitutional changes, economic and social reform, i.e., the only certain way out of the crisis and securing permanent joint interests of all citizens, all nations, and nationalities of the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia.

The SFRY Presidency expects, as agreed in the SFRY Assembly, that harmonization of the stands will continue immediately and with the aim of finding joint permanent solutions which would replace temporary measures.

Presidency Briefed on Dolanc Visit to Japan

LD0303183789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1147 GMT 3 Mar 89

[Text] Belgrade, 3 Mar (TANJUG)—During the 2 March SFRY Presidency session, chaired by Raif Dizdarevic, the Presidency was briefed on the visit to Japan by Stane Dolanc, vice president of the SFRY Presidency, in connection with the funeral of Japanese Emperor Hirohito.

It was noted that during Stane Dolanc's talks with Japanese Premier Takeshita and representatives of Japanese business life, interest was expressed by Japanese business quarters in the development of economic cooperation with Yugoslavia.

It was also assessed that Stane Dolanc's talks with the representatives of other countries were significant for the development of cooperation between the SFRY and these countries. It was stressed that all these talks made a useful exchange of views on many important international issues possible. They enabled the interlocutors to be briefed on the situation in Yugoslavia and on the efforts which are being more rapidly made to overcome economic and other difficulties.

TANJUG Lists Candidates for Government Posts

LD0903203889 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1706 GMT 9 Mar 89

[By Neda Stanimrovic]

[Text] Belgrade, March 9 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Premier designate Ante Markovic will make public the list of his cabinet on March 15 and the list will go before the Assembly of Yugoslavia one day later, on March 16.

The next Yugoslav government will be the ninth since 1963, when the offices of the president of the republic and the premier were separated.

The six Yugoslav republics and the northern province of Vojvodina have proposed a total of over 70 candidates for the new federal government. The southern province of Kosovo is the only one which has not yet submitted a list of candidates for the Markovic cabinet.

The largest number of candidates, 16, have been proposed by Yugoslavia's most highly developed Republic of Slovenia. The Republic of Montenegro has put up 14 candidates, Macedonia 13, Bosnia-Hercegovina and Croatia, each, 10 and Serbia 6. The northern province of Vojvodina has come forth with 4 candidates.

Before deciding about their candidates the republics and provinces had expressed the readiness to place their best personnel at the disposal of Premier designate Markovic.

Whereas the outgoing government, which collectively resigned over three months ago, has 29 members, the new government is expected to have only 19.

Premier Designate Markovic feels that the parity representation of the republics and provinces should not be insisted on at all costs, as, for instance, such a policy has been responsible for the fact that the Yugoslav Government has had as many as 12 ministers without portfolio.

Many of the proposed candidates for the new government have doctor's and master's degrees and many of them are politicians and economists well-known to the general public.

The list of candidates includes the names of some members of the outgoing government, including both Vice-Premiers Milos Milosavljevic and Janez Zemljaric. However, Dr Desimir Jeftic, premier of Yugoslavia's largest Republic of Serbia, Petar Gosev, member of the Republic of Macedonia's highest party leadership in charge of economic affairs, and Ilija Filipovski, vice-premier of that southern republic, are seen as the favourites for the posts of federal vice-premiers.

On the list of candidates for the Markovic cabinet are current ministers without portfolio Dzevad Mujezinovic, who is in charge of the technical organization of the ninth non-aligned summit to be held in Belgrade in September, Dr Stevo Mirjanic, Jovo Panajotovic, Borisav Rikalovski and Egon Padovan.

Of the current government members, the list of candidates for the new government includes also Radoslav Bohinc, minister of economics, Franc Horvat, chairman of the Federal Committee for Tourism, and Vuk Ognjevovic, deputy finance secretary.

The Republic of Croatia has proposed that National Defense Secretary Veljko Kadijevic and Foreign Secretary Budimir Loncar retain their posts.

Two members of the former government of Milka Planinc (1982-86) are also on the list of candidates for the Markovic cabinet—then vice-premier and renowned economist Dr Borislav Srebric and Milorad Stanojevic.

The candidates put up by the Republic of Montenegro include Veselin Vukotic, acting chief of the Montenegro Communists.

Among Serbia's candidates is Radisa Gacic, one of the republic's two representatives in the Yugoslav party Presidency.

The candidates for the Markovic cabinet include successful businessmen Stevan Santo, director of the firm Sever of Subotica, Joze Slokar, director of the Slovenia railways, Franc Sifkovic, director of the electronic giant Iskra of Kranj, all three of whom are members of the Yugoslav party Central Committee, Dr Zarko Primorac, a director of the firm Energoinvest of Sarajevo, Aleksandar Mitrovic, former director of the firm Zorka of Sabac and currently member of the Republic of Serbia Presidency, Ljubisa Igic, for many years director of the electronic complex EI-NIS of Nis and Serbia Presidency member.

Ignac Golob, for many years Yugoslavia's ambassador to the United Nations, and Dr Dragoje Zarkovic, professor of economics at the University of Novi Sad and Vojvodina party Presidency member, are also among the candidates for the new federal government.

Premier Designate Ante Markovic has announced that he means to introduce between 500 and 700 new experts into the federal administration and, at the same time, to reduce the federal administration staff by one-third.

The Assembly of Yugoslavia has been thinking along the same lines. It is on March 15 to amend the law on the organization of the federal administration bodies and federal organizations in order to enable their reorganization and staff cuts.

Premier designate Markovic calls for a market-oriented economy, the national economy's fuller opening towards the rest of the world and no state interference in the economy.

Markovic has underscored that the implementation of his programme of resolving the longstanding and difficult economic crisis in the country will require at least five years.

Possibilities 'Still Open' on FRG Visa Problem

LD1003044389 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1600 GMT 9 Mar 89

[Text] Belgrade, March 9 (TANJUG)—Possibilities are still open for reaching a final solution to the problem of visas for Yugoslavs travelling to the Federal Republic of Germany (F.R.G.), Yugoslav Federal Government spokesman Ivo Vajgl said in Belgrade today.

At a regular news conference, he expressed the hope that the outcome in resolving the visa problem with the F.R.G. will be positive and that the measures which would hamper the highly developed links between the two countries will not be taken.

Asked about the measures that Yugoslavia intends to undertake if visas are introduced, Vajgl expressed the hope that the government will not be in a situation to

consider such measures. Yugoslavia is a sovereign country which must consider the many-sidedness of its interests, starting from the sovereign right, dignity and pragmatism of interests, Vajgl underscored.

Yugoslav and West German citizens have so far been able to travel without visas, thanks to the 1968 agreement between the two countries.

Some time yesterday, Yugoslavia was unofficially informed about the Federal Republic's unilateral decision to call off the agreement on visas.

Spokesman Cites Loncar Remarks in Vienna

LD0903182989 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1738 GMT 9 Mar 89

[Text] Belgrade, March 9 (TANJUG)—The Vienna meeting on confidence-building measures and reductions of conventional forces marks a good beginning of a new stage in overall European relations, Yugoslav Government spokesman Ivo Vajgl said at a news conference here today.

Speaking at a regular news conference, Vajgl said that meaningful talks on arms reductions and the success of these talks could change the overall situation in Europe for the better.

He said that because of this, it was stressed in Yugoslavia that all the addresses at the Vienna meeting were optimistic and that good-will was expressed for investing efforts in this direction.

Speaking of Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Budimir Loncar's talks in Vienna with his European colleagues, Vajgl said that Loncar had explained to them the special measures introduced in the Yugoslav autonomous province of Kosovo, where strikes by ethnic Albanians broke out this February against changes of the republican Constitution of Serbia of which Kosovo is an integral part.

Loncar also informed his colleagues of the normalization of living conditions and the economy in Kosovo.

Vajgl said that most of Loncar's talks focused on Yugoslavia's orientation towards reforms and that special interest was shown in the program presented by the new Yugoslav premier-designate, Ante Markovic.

Status of Jansa's Prison Sentence Updated

Sentence Postponed

AU0803165089 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 3 Mar 89 p 4

[D.D. report: "Jail Postponed for Jansa"]

[Text] Ljubljana—In its 82d announcement, the Committee for the Protection of Human Rights states that Janez Jansa should have begun serving his prison sentence on 1 March.

France Zavrl should contact the prison authorities on 7 March and David Tasic on 23 March.

It is stated in this public announcement that Janez Jansa's lawyer has lodged an appeal for the serving of his sentence to be postponed, which means that the sentence is automatically postponed until a decision is made by the competent organ. Appeals for the postponement of Zavrl's and Tasic's sentences will be lodged on the day after their sentences are due to begin. The law allows the serving of a sentence to be postponed for another 3 months.

Stay Rejected

AU0903165189 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 1430 GMT 9 Mar 89

[Text] The Human Rights Protection Committee has announced that the Ljubljana Basic Court has rejected Janez Jansa's application for a stay in the serving of his prison term. A day after the handing down of this ruling, which is tomorrow, Janez Jansa should begin serving his prison sentence.

Jansa, or rather his lawyer, may appeal to the higher court in Ljubljana, but this appeal would not postpone the beginning of serving the sentence.

The committee reports at the same time that (Hinko Jenulc), unit head at the Ljubljana Basic Court, has not yet replied why Janez Jansa is the only one of the four who must serve his sentence in a closed prison.

Vlasi's Political Career, Downfall Outlined

LD0803091889 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1848 GMT 7 Mar 89

["Yugoslavia—Azem Vlasi's Rise and Fall"—TANJUG headline]

[Text] Pristina, March 7 (TANJUG)—The brilliant political career of Azem Vlasi, one of the youngest ranking Yugoslav politicians, seems to have come to an abrupt end on March 1 of this year, when Vlasi was arrested together with two other ethnic Albanians, economic officials Aziz Abrasi and Burhan Kavaja.

Vlasi, Abrasi and Kavaja have been arrested on grounded suspicion of involvement in the organizing of demonstrations and strikes in the troubled Province of Kosovo, which, if proved, would make them guilty of a crime of counter-revolutionary activity against the country's social order.

The court inquiry into the case of former Kosovo party official Vlasi could, as expected, produce a list of names of others who have been involved in organizing the last November's demonstrations of ethnic Albanians and the recent eight-day underground strike of ethnic Albanian miners in Kosovo.

The investigation is precisely to establish the degree to which Vlasi has, with his actions, behaviour and authority, influenced the political developments in Kosovo, especially the November demonstrations and the miners' underground sit-in, which led to the introduction of special measures for the protection of the constitutional order in the Province of Kosovo.

The situation in the Autonomous Province of Kosovo heavily deteriorated while Vlasi was at the head of the Kosovo Communists. The inter-nationality relations in the province became very strained, with ethnic Albanians growing even more aggressive in their attacks on Serbs and Montenegrins. The same was true of the relations between the Republic of Serbia, of which Kosovo is a part, and the province, itself.

Azem Vlasi's political career began in 1968 when he was elected the president of the student organisation at the Pristina School of Law. Shortly afterwards Vlasi became the president of the Yugoslav Youth Organisation.

Vlasi's political rise coincides with the year 1981, the year the Albanian nationalists and separatists staged a counter-revolution in Kosovo, when Vlasi, as the secretary of the Kosovo Socialist Alliance, was the first to give an assessment, which was later confirmed, that a militant nationalist nucleus was among the demonstrators.

In April 1986 Vlasi became the Presidency president of the Kosovo League of Communists Provincial Committee. Soon after pressures by separatists and criticism of Vlasi's wrong political moves ensued.

Vlasi's wrong assessments on the position of Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo and meetings on solidarity with Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins which were staged in all larger towns in Serbia, strongly encouraged Albanian nationalists and separatists.

Vlasi also opposed every initiative given by the Serbian party on cadre and other changes in Kosovo.

Today Vlasi is criticised of having totally privatised the cadre policy in Kosovo and established his own lobby.

Vlasi's frequent disagreements with the Serbian leadership made him a national leader of ethnic Albanians advocating separatism.

Last November, immediately before ethnic Albanians staged demonstrations in Kosovo, Vlasi resigned from the membership of the Kosovo League of Communists Provincial Committee Presidency. His resignation was explained by the necessity to separate state and party functions and by cadre renewals.

After Vlasi was excluded from the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee because of his responsibility for a slow normalisation of the situation in Kosovo, ethnic Albanian miners staged an eight-day sit-in in pits demanding the resignations of the new party leadership of Kosovo headed by Rahman Morina.

The miners strike was staged at the same with the Assembly of Serbia adopting draft amendments to the republican Constitution. [sentence as received] The amendments should change the untenable situation where the two Serbian provinces Vojvodina and Kosovo virtually have equal rights as the republics.

Vlasi initially denied and then admitted having gone down into the mine to talk with the striking ethnic Albanian miners. In one interview he stated that he made the "nocturnal visit" as an "ordinary citizen".

The arrest of Vlasi, Abrasi and Kavaja indicate, however, that their position in the November and February demonstrations and strikes was far from "neutral", as they tried to present it.

New Kosovo Provincial Officials Elected

LD0903142989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1206 GMT 9 Mar 89

[Text] Pristina, 9 Mar (TANJUG)—At today's joint session of all three chambers of the Assembly of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, Jusuf Karakusi was elected the new provincial secretar· for internal affairs. Up to now, he has held the post of undersecretary for internal affairs of Kosovo.

The delegates elected Jorgovanka Milojevic as the new chairperson of the Provincial Committee for Information. Nedjat Pulja was elected as a new member of the Provincial Executive Council.

Kosovo Official Explains Special Measures

LD1003054389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2120 GMT 9 Mar 89

[Text] Gnjilane, 9 Mar (TANJUG)—The special measures which have been imposed in Kosovo should be regarded as necessary in order to create, as soon as possible, the conditions for the normalization of the situation in the province. All the malevolent allegations that in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo a military administration has been installed and the system's legal organs suspended should therefore be rejected. Remzi Koljgeci, president of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium, said this tonight in an address to Gnjilane political aktiv, where he also stated that the political and security situation in the province is extremely difficult.

The strikes of the Trepca miners, as well as the solidarity of workers following them, almost paralyzed economic and overall social life in the province which threatened the constitutional order and the functioning of the legal authorities, Koljgeci said.

Explaining the reasons which led the SFRY Presidency to impose special measures in Kosovo, Koljgeci said that it is necessary that these measures be accompanied by the efforts to intensify political, economic, cultural and sport life so as to create normal conditions for a democratic consideration and to reslove all the problems, demands, and suggestions by working people and citizens in the framework of the system's legal institutions. It is an obligation and a task of every citizen, regardless of their nationality in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, Koljgeci stressed, to engage themselves and fully contribute in their work places and also to invest efforts to overcome this difficult situation.

Haphazardness and insecurity should be opposed and the belief restored that the legal organs will execute their tasks efficiently and responsibly. He added that it should be made clear that everybody is to be accountable before society and the law for the illicit acts. The investigating legal organs should also be vested with the confidence that they will act and work on the basis of our positive laws.

The working people and citizens of Kosovo should acknowledge that the amendments to the Constitution of the SR of Serbia enable the republic to exercise its functions as a state on its entire territory and that the socialist autonomous province retain all their rights and obligations as democratic autonomous communities in the composition of the republic and constituting elements of the federation. One must stress, Koljgeci said, that there have been misinformation and allegations that the provinces were to be denied their rights and scaled down to cultural autonomy.

There is no doubt that the tense situation in Kosovo is to nobody's benefit, least of all to the people of Kosovo—Albanians, Serbs, Montenegrins, Turks, and others who live here. All of us, Koljgeci stressed, should be deeply concerned about the fact that Kosovo is about to be the trigger of the overall Yugoslav crisis and that the rest of the country fears that Kosovo might be the cause of the disintegration of Yugoslavia.

The process of political differentiation must not assume the meaning of something that has been imposed from the outside. Differentiation is needed for the Albanian nationality itself so that it might consolidate its own ranks. This process should not be turned into waging a campaign and it should not be conducted in newspapers, Koljgeci stressed.

All of us in Kosovo are tired of the situation; it can be solved only through a full implementation of the LCY policy, the well-known documents and stands of the 9th, 16th, and 17th sessions. It cannot possibly be achieved by the miners' siege of the pits, strikes, and work stoppages. This is a kind of political pressure which has never solved a problem, but rather has exacerbated the political situation. I believe that everybody is aware of this and that all of us will sincerely involve ourselves in resolving this situation, Remzi Koljgeci said.

Tupurkovski Comments on Overcoming Crisis

LD0903235589 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2300 GMT 9 Mar 89

[Text] Strumica, Macedonia, March 9 (TANJUG)—The crisis in the Yugoslav society cannot be overcome if the economic, political and party reforms are not implemented consistently, a high-ranking Yugoslav party official said today.

Dr Vasil Tupurkovski told a Strumica political gathering that frequent appearances of various nationalisms could be a great obstacle in realising the democratisation of political and economic relations in the country as a precondition to overcoming the crisis in the country.

Tupurkovski warned of Albanian separatism in Serbia's Kosovo Province, where a majority of the population is ethnic Albanian.

At this moment when the fate of the country is being resolved no revision of the program to resolve the Kosovo crisis can be permitted, he said.

The migration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo must be stopped and Albanian separatist nationalism broken. The Kosovo drama is not just Serbia's problem, but endangers the existence of all Yugoslavia, Tupurkovski said.

Dimitrovic Warns Against 'Belfast' in Kosovo

AU0903124189 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 6 Mar 89 p 4

[TANJUG report: "Will the 'People Enter the Scene' Here Too?"]

[Text] Split, 5 Mar—Stating that the Yugoslav crisis is entering a decisive phase, Drago Dimitrovic, secretary of the Presidium of the Croatian League of Communists Central Committee, said the following, among other things, in an interview with journalists from the daily SLOBODNA DALMACIJA, and the weekly NEDJELJNA DALMACIJA from which the Split daily carries detailed quotes under the title "We All Lose in Conflicts":

"I am not, however, sure that this is a question of its denouement. The concept of the 'people entering the scene' has also appeared in regions of Croatia with the high ambitions of carrying out the so-called export of revolution. One should be realistic in one's assessments. If this is realized then a new level of the crisis will be reached and not its denouement." On the other hand, Dimitrovic assessed, if it is shown that this has no foundation in the mood of the public in the areas of Croatia, Bosnia-Hercegovina, or Slovenia, then it is possible for us to create conditions to overcome the Yugoslav crisis on the basis of democratic dialogue which will proceed from the interests of all peoples and nationalities and the whole of the workers class.

Assessing that the meeting in Belgrade was "in many respects an outpouring of euphoria and exclusivity," and in some respects also "difficult to accept," Dimitrovic believed that regardless of what happens, events in Croatia will be of major significance for all Yugoslav circumstances. "The assessments according to which Croatia defended irredentism in Kosovo are crazy," said Dimitrovic. "The most important thing is to open up interethnic dialogue in Kosovo and strengthen the Yugoslav program in relation to the forces of separatism.

"No reasonable person will or can deny the suffering of the Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo. It is well known that we gave support to the constitutional changes in Serbia and our main concern remains that neither a Belfast nor a Basque country, let alone a Lebanon, should be created in the Yugoslav region. We are being put to the test virtually every day to see if we can resist such a development of events."

As regards the protest meetings in Knin and some other communes in Croatia, Dimitrovic said that "we must clearly define what represents, as far as the expressed dissatisfaction is concerned, the objective social, existential, and other problems of the population and what is identification with a policy which threatens the sovereignty and integrity of the Socialist Republic of Croatia.

"Even though the policy of Croatia is perhaps in conflict with monoliths and some other organized structures and appears to be weak, its homogeneity is exclusively directed toward meeting people's vital needs, it offers a chance for reform to everyone, and is not directed against anybody, and this, we believe, is what gives it a transnational identity in the Yugoslav region."

Kosovo Situation Assessed as 'Very Difficult'

LD0903215789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1941 GMT 9 Mar 89

[Text] Gnjilane, 9 Mar (TANJUG)—The political and security situation in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo is very difficult. This is a consequence of nonstop activity by Albanian nationalists and irredentists, as well as other nationalists and internal and external enemies of our country who have various motives.

Remzi Koljgeci, president of the Presidency of the SAP of Kosovo, said this in talks with the political aktiv of the Gnjilane municipality this evening.

The strikes by the Trepca miners, as well as the solidarity of many workers with them, has almost paralyzed economic and social life in the province, and this threatens something even worse—jeopardizing the constitutional setup and functioning of legal organs of the adminstration.

Kosovo LC Member Calls for Osmani's Dismissal

LD0503212389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 5 Mar 89

[Text] Titova Mitrovica, 5 Feb (TANJUG)—The blockade of the Kosovo LC stems from Titova Mitrovica, and therefore all these who are responsible for this must leave the party, Djordje Bozovic, member of the Presidium of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee, said at a session yesterday of the Titova Mitrovica LC Municipal Committee at which Bahredin Osmani, president of the municipal committee Presidium, resigned.

His resignation, which he explained in terms of his feeling of responsibility for the recent situation in Trepca, Titova Mitrovica, the province, and of not involving himself in the implementation of measures and actions undertaken to stabilize the situation, was adopted. However, there were opinions that the assessment of the recently finished strike by the Stari Trg miners should be provided first. All the more so since the November demonstrations and the February strike were started in Stari Trg and throughout this period Bahredin Osmani had been side by side with Aziz Abrasi and Burhan Kavaja, both of whom have been arrested.

The Presidium of this committee, which is also marked by national divisions, supported Azem Vlasi, Kacusa Jasari, and Ekrem Arifi on the eve of the November session of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee and countered the conclusions of the 17th session of the LCY Central Committee. Hence a great deal of the members of the LC in this municipality maintain that the resignation by Bahredin Osmani should not be adopted but that he should rather be expelled from the LC Municipal Committee and banned from work with students.

This was particularly stressed at a session yesterday of the basic LC organization in Zvecan where the communists voiced a number of assessments of the recent events and forwarded 30 demands for the responsibility of individuals and organs. As we have been informed, the Presidium of the Titova Mitrovica LC Municipal Committee decided that Kemalj Kamberi, member of the Presidium of the LC Municipal Committee, should act as the president until the election of a new president.

Vojvodina Presidium Discusses Kosovo, Protest

AU0903134789 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 7 Mar 89 p 3

[Slodan Stanojevic and Zuzana Serences report: "The Counterrevolution was Nurtured by Anti-Serbianism"]

[Excerpts] Novi Sad, 6 Mar—The Presidium of the Provincial Committee of the Vojvodina League of Communists [LC] today discussed two exceptionally topical issues: the political situation as concerns events in Kosovo and the proposed platform and agenda of the

extraordinary congress of the LC of Yugoslavia, which was actually initiated by the Vojvodina Communists at January's extraordinary congress of the Vojvodina LC.

Giving the opening speech about the "Kosovo drama" and the tasks of the Vojvodina Communists, Dr Slavko Gordic stressed, above all, that, in light of some of the latest events, everything that has happened in the last 20 months, since the conclusions on LCY activity and the crushing of the counterrevolution in Kosovo were unanimously adopted at the ninth session of the LCY Central Committee, should be discussed and assessed. [passage omitted]

Gordic then dealt with some of the latest events surrounding Kosovo and stressed in particular: "I cannot help but express surprise and voice protest at some statements made by our party comrades—we are probably still in the same party—Milan Kucan, Joze Smole, and Fuad Muhic.... I would like to know whether Milan Kucan really thinks that the efforts of Communists in Serbia and in the renovated Kosovo leadership, can be reduced to a bare-fisted struggle for power and a struggle to retain political positions. I would also like to know whether he really thinks that a Yugoslavia based on AVNOJ [Anti-fascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] principles was defended in the Stari Trg pits. I would like to know whether he still thinks that there is no basic difference whatsoever between single-nationality gatherings in Kosovo with the incentives and motives which have been revealed in the meantime, and the meetings that were held in other parts of the country.

"I would also like Joze Smole to tell us openly as communists where he saw the high degree of consciousness of the Trepca miners. Where is this high degree of consciousness? In the unacceptability of the constitutional changes in Serbia or in the unacceptability of those three fighters and activists with an undisputed and proven Yugoslav orientation—Husamedin Azemi, Rahman Morina, and Ali Sukrija? Or is this a case of a high degree of consciousness concerning the need for the further isolation and self-sufficiency of Kosovo and even for its future stepping away from this common homeland? This high degree of consciousness that has fascinated Smole has astounded us and caused us a lot of concern.

"...We have all also seen that the renowned political worker from Bosnia-Hercegovina, Fuad Muhic, who is well known for his fanatical attitude toward the Serbian LC and Slobodan Milosevic, is now speaking in the same or very similar way to Smole about the demands of the Stari Trg strikers and defending them from the complaints that this is a question of manipulation and deceit." [passage omitted]

"The Sabotage" of Hodza's Defenders

Dr Dragoje Zarkovic stressed that the escalation of Albanian nationalism since 1981 was, to a great extent, a consequence of the existent escalation of the anti-Serbian policy by some members of the LCY political leadership, as well as in the leaderships of some parts of our country. If this had not been the case, the counterrevolution in Kosovo would have been overcome a long time ago. He also said that those in the LCY Central Committee who supported Fadil Hodza had also "sabotaged" the conclusions and stands of the LCY Central Committee on Kosovo the most, so that they as a rule remained unimplemented and diluted. Zarkovic decisively rejected "all accusations" that there had been an "export of revolution" from the SR of Serbia to the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina and the SR of Montenegro and that this was now being done in other regions. [passage omitted]

Nedeljko Sipovac, president of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee Presidium stressed that the event in the Cankar Hall "cannot be easily ignored," particularly because it was attended by the most senior leaders in Slovenia. He, in fact, believed that the LC should "take a clear position" regarding the latest occurrences in Slovenia and Croatia because the people are particularly bitter about what was said in Slovenia. In addition to the indignation of the people as a whole certain businessmen and workers were also indignant which resulted in some instances of economic cooperation with work collectives in Slovenia being halted or reduced. This is definitely not good for Yugoslavia and the incipient economic reform but we must nevertheless clearly say to the Slovenes that this country cannot have a unified Yugoslav market without "everything else being important." [passage omitted]

Platform for an Extraordinary Congress

Today, the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee Presidium also endorsed the proposed platform and agenda for the LCY extraordinary congress to which the Provincial Committee is also bound as the proposer of the extraordinary congress. It was proposed that the main subject should be "social reform and the transformation of the LCY." As proposed, the extraordinary congress should also assess the work of current LCY organs and elect new LCY organs: The Central Committee and the Statutory and Supervisory Commissions of the LCY.

VJESNIK Presents Views on Miners' Strike

AU0903211089 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 28 Feb 89 p 1

[Vlado Rajic commentary: "Out of the Trap"]

[Text] Irredentists have not come to Kosovo with the miners. With its excellent organization and by choosing the weak points in the system, at which it strikes with all its strength, it has been inaugurated as a very efficient force, since 1981 almost always at least a step before the political and state institutions. The miners' lives staked in the latest action are not the first human fates destroyed in the interest of an imposed political aim.

The threat to their physical existence is most obvious in the case of the miners, although bruises have also been acquired by those who are blindly convinced that they are serving a correct idea that leads into the only possible "better" fate of the Albanians in Yugoslavia, their national state within the SFRY.

It has been heard from the most responsible places many times that heavy blows have been inflicted on the irredentists. One should ask where it gets all this vitality so that reappears, recovered and ready for new destructive actions. It is obvious that the irredentists are not alone in cooking up trouble in Kosovo.

The miners gave each other their "besa" [Albanian for word of honor] that they will persist in their demands. What sort of "besa" was given by the system that their lives will be preserved, and that the system, its remaining dignity, and its constitutional foundations will also be preserved? One still attempts to solve the million problems in Kosovo one by one. In 8 years, no list of priorities has not been prepared, and the political attitude toward the situation in the province has been built on two precepts.

First, that an economic system should first be set up in the province and the irredentists should thus be deprived based on the assertion that the Albanians live in desperate poverty because they are Albanians, and they also lose their political rights through this despair; because they lack political rights in this "provincial" situation, they have no chance of changing their poverty; therefore the demand for a republic is justified. The other precept is that the way out lies in political means, but when they fail, the Army and the policy can be "used" as a machinery for protecting the Serbs and the Montenegrins in the province.

The abyss between these two approaches swallows billions given for economic development in Kosovo, the effect of the judges "loaned" to the provincial judiciary, the effectiveness of the militia and the Army, the achievements of the constitutional reform in Serbia, and all the conclusions on Kosovo. Instead of bridges being erected, the abyss is being deepened particularly by some people among the subjective forces. The trade unions of Serbia and Croatia, in their statements from their extraordinary sessions, differ in their assessments of the miners' drama as if they worked on different continents. The miners of Slovenia and Serbia react in a completely different way as if they did not eat the same hard bread. Workers send from their collective national, rather than class, messages to the miners. How many of these differences are reflected in the meager statements by state organs? Whom does this serve? The irredentists, of course, as well as the extreme Serbian nationalism, accompanied by other chauvinist feelings.

The presence of the irredentists is an objective fact in Kosovo. All the Yugoslav quarrels are another objective fact. Circumstances show that the strongest blow to the irredentists will be inflicted only after we finally determine what actually was the obstacle "on our side," as we might say. If it were party relations, they should be named. This should not be delayed. This is the key to the trap which caught the miners.

Strike at Goles Magnesite Mine Continues

'About 300' Participate

LD0903163989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1533 GMT 9 Mar 89

[Excerpt] Pristina, 9 Mar (TANJUG)—Miners of Albanian nationality at the Goles magnesite mine in Mugara near Lipljan have been on strike since this morning.

About 300 miners of the third and first shift refused both to go home or to go down the pits, and demanded that a gathering be held at which municipal and provincial leaders would take part. According to the head of the technical department Eleza Zejnulahi, mine leaders were unsuccessfull on several occasions in disuading the miners from going on strike.

This morning a 3-hour gathering was held, at which representatives of the Lipljan Municipality headed by the President Ismailj Jasari were present. The gathering was opened by trade union leaders of the first and third shifts Haki and Mehmed Bitici. Serbian and Montenegrin miners did not attend the gathering. More than 20 miners stressed that "the miners are not being manipulated by their leaders" and "no one persuaded them to remain in the pits during the February strike." The speakers supported the February demands of the Stari Trg miners and demanded an answer to the question: What has been done in respect to these demands? Some were unclear why Azem Vlasi, Aziz Abrasi, and Burhan Kavaja had been arrested, and they stressed that the alleged hunt for leaders of Albanian nationality is continuing.

The miners criticized both the party and state organs because, as they say: "they have different criteria for assessing single-nationality gatherings." Several speakers repeated that "the miners are not nationalists and separatists, just workers."

The leaders of Goles mine and representatives of Lipljan municipality warned the miners that the special measures are in force, and they proposed that their demands be discussed in legal organs. The gathered workers rejected the proposal with strong disapproval and explained that the legal organs are constantly discussing issues without resolving them. After the gathering ended, the miners of the third shift went home, and the first shift refused to enter the pits, demanding talks with the provincial leaderhsip. [passage omitted].

Kosovo Leaders Visit

LD0903181589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1712 GMT 9 Mar 89

[Text] Pristina, 9 Mar (TANJUG)—We did not come here to discuss your demands, but to tell you that you are obliged to carry out your work duties at the moment. If you wish to discuss your (?demands, you should not do this) in such an unacceptable way.

This was the basic message of this afternoon's visit by Nebi Gasi, member of the Kosovo Presidency, and Nazmi Mustafa, president of the Kosovo Executive Council, to the first and second shift miners of Goles mine in Magura, near Lipljan, who are still on strike.

Following this meeting, the miners did not return to the shafts, but went home instead, as the third shift did this morning. A compulsory work order will most likely be introduced in this collective, according to the information given to the journalists by Nazmi Mustafa, president of the Kosovo Executive Council.

Further Details

LD0903211289 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1855 GMT 9 Mar 89

[Text] Pristina, March 9 (TANJUG)—At a meeting which some 300 ethnic Albanian miners staged this morning, after stopping work, in the magnesite mine Goles near Lipljan in the Yugoslav province of Kosovo, the twenty or so who addressed the meeting stressed that "ethnic Albanian miners had not been persuaded by anyone to take part in the last February general strike in Kosovo" and that "they had not been manipulated by their leaders".

Some 40,000 ethnic Albanian workers took part in the general strike staged last month in Kosovo, the province hit by separatism of a part of its ethnic Albanian population. The strikers' most important demand was that the Constitution of the Republic of Serbia, whose part Kosovo is, not be changed. According to the strike[r]s unfounded fears of the changes of the Serbian Constitution could affect the autonomy of the province.

After the general strike a number of Kosovo officials and managers have been detained on grounds of an involvement in the organisation of the strike and similar demonstrations by ethnic Albanians staged last November. Among the detained is Azem Vlasi, head of the Kosovo party until less than a year ago.

The miners today again criticized the party and state organs for applying different standards in assessing single-nationality gatherings in Serbia and in Kosovo.

The leadership of the Goles mine, representatives of the Lipljan commune, Kosovo Presidency member Nebi Gashi and Kosovo's Premier Nazmi Mustafa, who this afternoon visited the Goles mine warned the miners that it is their duty to work. They reminded them that special measures are in force and that a compulsory work order will be introduced in the mine as it is under provisional administration. After the meeting, the miners went home.

Today's Assembly of Kosovo session assessed that the introduction of special measures was necessary in Kosovo (they were introduced under a Presidency of Yugoslavia decision on February 28), that the measures had met with the approval of the majority of working people and citizens and that, after the escalation of inter-nationality clashes, they were already contributing to the normalization of life in the province.

The Assembly of Kosovo today asked that the competent authorities establish the responsibility of the instigators and organizers of the separatist activities in Kosovo.

The Kosovo Assembly took the stand that the adoption of amendments to Serbia's Constitution was the top priority task in the struggle to secure unity in the republic and the stab[ilization] of situation in the province and throughout the

Prime Minister [of] the provincial government Mustafa announced that, between February 20 and 28, work was stopped at 214 enterprises and factories in Kosovo and that over 70 elementary and secondary schools were not working.

Mustafa said that the competent organs were investigating who had stayed in the pit during the sit-in of workers at the Kosovo mine Stari Trg of the Trepca works, and added that they included also retired workers and workers having temporary employment abroad.

Delegate at the Kosovo Assembly Predrag Lazic called that the establishment of responsibility should first cover the Assembly of Kosovo and the provincial government, expressing doubts that the present composition of delegates would adopt, by the set deadline, the proposed [cha]nges to Serbia's Constitution.

The Kosovo Assembly today elected Under-Secretary for Internal Affairs Jusuf Karakushi as new provincial secretary of internal affairs, and Jorgovanka Milojevic as new provincial secretary of information.

Strike Continues 10 Mar

LD1003105889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1012 GMT 10 Mar 89

[Text] Pristina, 10 Mar (TANJUG)—About 120 miners in the first shift at the Goles magnezite mine near Lipljan this morning still do not want to go down the pit. They are requesting talks with all their managers in the work organization.

Miners at Trepca's Ajvalija and Novo Brdo pits, not far from Pristina, also stopped work for a short time this morning. They requested talks with Nazmi Mustafa, president of the Kosovo Assembly Executive Council, and Nebi Gasi, a member of the provincial Presidency.

After stopping work for 1 hour, the Ajvalija and Novo Brdo miners resumed work.

Mustafa and Gasi last night told the Goles miners in unequivocal terms that the compulsory work orders must be respected, and they drew attention to the fact that the SFRY Presidency special measures apply to them as well.

Arrests Made, Troops Deployed

AU0903134489 Paris AFP in English 1313 GMT 9 Mar 89

[Excerpts] Belgrade, March 9 (AFP)—Some 400 mineworkers went on strike Thursday in Kosovo despite the state of emergency in the troubled mainly Albanian province, the Yugoslav news agency TANJUG reported.

Under the special powers which have gone into force in Kosovo, the magnesite miners of Goles are considered under military orders and treated as army reservists who are forbidden to strike. In theory, their strike should be met with military intervention, since the army has taken control of key sectors of the economy in the provinces, observers said. [passage omitted]

A reliable source at Goles told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE by telephone that the miners were demanding to know what had become of the three local leaders whose resignation the Trepca miners had forced.

They also wanted to know why the authorities were arresting people suspected of organising gatherings of Albanians, without taking similar measures regarding the Serbian community, in which strikes also took place. Nearly 15,000 troops, including an armoured brigade, have been despatched to Kosovo under the emergency, according to a Western military source, while the authorities have had several senior local political leaders arrested.

SFRY Assembly Passes 1989 Federal Budget

LD0903160789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1458 GMT 9 Mar 89

[Text] Belgrade, 9 Mar (TANJUG)—The Chamber of Republics and Provinces of the SFRY Assembly today adopted the law on the overall volume of federal expenditure, according to which 20.6 billion dinars will flow into the federal treasury this year. This year's budget is three times last year's but, in the assessment of delegates, it is anti-inflationary and has been formulated in such a way that its revenue will be 44 percent below this year's average growth in the social product of Yugoslavia.

Air Transportation Cost To Rise 28.5 Percent

LD0303125589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1210 GMT 03 Mar 89

[Text] Belgrade, 3 Mar (TANJUG)—The cost of air transportation of passengers and goods on domestic lines of all Yugoslav airlines will go by up 28.5 percent as of 4 March, it was announced at today's ACWS conference at Yugoslav airlines. The increase will not affect tickets bought before 3 March, regardless of the flight date, as long as the reservation is adhered to.

This price increase was explained as a consequence of a cost increase in the domestic transportation during February due to higher prices of fuel and spare parts.

Serbian-Jewish Friendship Society Founded

LD0503151989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1353 GMT 5 Mar 89

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 5 Mar (TANJUG)—When propagandist chauvinism hides its hatred behind the symbol of the Star of David, it forgets that Nazis founded the Skender Beg SS division made up of ethnic Albanians, Serbian-Jewish Friendship Society President Ljubomir Tadic noted in the introductory speech at the first assembly of this society today. Representatives of the Serbian-Slovene Friendship Society were present at the assembly. [passage omitted]

On behalf of the Serbian-Jewish Friendship Society, Tadic expressed the hope that the SFRY will have diplomatic relations with the State of Israel some day. [passage omitted]

The statute of the Serbian-Jewish Friendship Society was adopted. The statute states that any citizens of the SFRY and any foreign citizens participating fully in the society's work can be a member.

It was proposed that within the framework of this society a commission for genocide be founded [phrase as received] and that a monument to Jews killed in World War II be built in Dorcol.

On behalf of the Republican Conference of the Serbian SAWP, Miodrag Djordjevic expressed the hope that this society will make a contribution to solving current problems.

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